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INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

a study in cultural relations

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INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

A Study in Cultural Relations

सत्यमेव जयते

Ministry of Education and Social Welfare
Government of India
1979

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शिक्षा मंत्री
भारत
EDUCATION MINISTER
INDIA

New Delhi-110001
7-8-1979

FOREWORD

I am glad that in the series "Cultural Fabric", the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare is bringing out this Special Issue on "India and South-East Asia—A Study in Cultural Relations". The issue contains contributions from scholars of distinction who have made a mark in their respective fields. The picture that is presented reveals the multifaceted interchange between India and the South-East Asian Countries in the sphere of culture down the corridors of time. The contributions tellingly unfold the story of how cultural relations have evolved through the ages between us and our neighbours and thus the publication will help to strengthen our present relations with these friendly countries.

Jaisukhlal

INTRODUCTION

This booklet which is the Sixth in the series "Our Cultural Fabric" is devoted to the theme on India's Cultural Relations with South-East Asian Countries. In this booklet, the authors, who have specialised in the respective areas of their study have traced the history of India's cultural relations with these countries, since time past. The countries covered are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. It is hoped that the readers will find the contributions of interest to them.

P. N. CHOPRA
Editor

INDIA AND INDONESIA

A. GHOSH

THE lofty mountains and the high seas which form the boundaries of India have seldom been a barrier to the spread of Indian cultural elements beyond its traditional limits. Equally true is the reverse. Buddhism crossed the mountains to reach Afghanistan, Central Asia and Tibet and also the seas to reach China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan. But for some of the most striking evidence of the penetration of Indian culture one has to turn to South-East Asia. The following remark is of interest in this connection : "A few years before William the Conqueror impressed Europe with the organizing capacity displayed in crossing the English Channel, the fleets of the Chola kingdom and the equally Indian kingdom of Sailendra of Sri-Vijaya in Sumatra entered upon a century-long struggle across 1000 miles of open ocean. So much for isolation by sea".[1]

The above quotation refers to the events of fairly recent times. But looking at the subject more systematically we begin to find possible evidence of cultural contacts between India and the south-eastern part of Asia even in the early pre-historic period. The evidence becomes considerably firmer in the late pre-historic period and proliferates to a veritable wealth thereafter.

Beginning with the Stone Age, we find a type of tool, known rather cumbrously as the chopper-chopping tool, which was discovered in the 1930's in the valley of the Sohan river, a tributary of the Indus. This type of tool, crudely fashioned by breaking off a large flake from a pebble or a block of stone, was at that time related to similar tools found at some places in China, Malay and the Java island of Indonesia. This led to various theories on migrations—cultural or physical—from South-East Asia to the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. Nonetheless, these theories must be treated with circumspection, as similar tools have been found in varying quantities all over India and thus may well be an independent parallel development or an import from Africa rather than the product of a spearheaded migration from the south-east to the north-west.

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with food-production (as distinct from food-gathering of the preceding ages), settled life, domestication of animals and making of pottery vessels. During this Age polished stone celts with 'shoulders' were a common tool type in South-East Asia, and this type is significantly present in east India. It is also likely that rice cultivation, the earliest evidence of which comes from China and Thailand in the 4th to 5th millennia B.C., was introduced into east India, whence it spread to the other parts of the country. At a less certain level this may perhaps be connected with the movement into India of the speakers of the Munda language group of the Austric family, to which all the languages of South-east Asia and Polynesia also belong.

After this comes a wide temporal gap, when evidence of Indian contacts with South-East Asia is confusing. It is possible, for example, that in the early centuries of the Christian era India was the medium through which Roman trade took place with South-East Asia, with Indian merchants bringing spices to the Indian ports, whence the Romans carried them home. That the Romans knew of South-East Asia is indicated by Ptolemy, the Roman geographer of the second century, who speaks of vessels bound for the Malay peninsula and ports further beyond, making voyages along the south-east coast of India as far as Palauri (near Gopalpur in Orissa) and then taking a direct route across the high sea to Malay, whence they spread of to different islands. However, that the Roman knowledge of South-East Asia was indirect (*i.e.* probably *via* India) may be indicated by the fact that hardly any Roman objects have been found in South-East Asia. This is supported by the fact that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* a Roman sailor's handbook to the trade routes and emporia from Alexandria to east India, displays only a vague knowledge of the region beyond the point where the Ganga discharges into the Bay of Bengal : after the Ganga it only refers to Chryse ('the golden'), the vast land of the east, by which it probably refers to Malay, or possibly to Sumatra, Suvarnadvipa, 'the island of gold' of later Indian literature.

Indo-Indonesian contacts took more concrete shape in the later part of the early half of the Ist millennium A.D., though the stages thereof are not clearly discernible. Before proceeding further, it is desirable to have a brief acquaintance with Indonesia itself, for the preceding paragraphs concern themselves with South-East Asia in general.

Prior to its independence, in 1945, from Dutch domination of about a century and a half, Indonesia was a loosely knit political entity known as the Netherlands East Indies. Consisting of over 13,000 islands, of which some 3,000 are inhabited and of which we are concerned here only with Sumatra, Java, Eastern Borneo (the Malaysian part of Kalimantan), Bali and Lombok, this vast archipelago is a land of diverse peoples speaking many languages and dialects. Though belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian subfamily of the Austric family, these are widely different from each other, little understood beyond the area of their currency. From about the 15th century, the Malay language, also of the same subfamily, common at the ports among traders and popularized by Muslim preachers, gained limited currency and was adopted as the official language of Indonesia after independence. Since then it has spread over the archipelago like wild fire. Islam penetrated into most of the islands in the 15th century and introduced a semblance of religious unity among 90 per cent of the population, though local religious beliefs, practices and legends were far from wiped out. Indonesia as a national concept began to appear only in 1928, when the Second Youth Conference at Jakarta declared *ika bangsa—Indonesia, ika Nusa-Indonesia, ika bahasa-Indonesia* ('one nation, one land, literally island, one language-Indonesia'). The word Indonesia had been used by a few European scholars in their scientific publications for areas where similar customary laws prevailed and which extended much beyond the limits of the East Indies in the Indian and pacific Oceans. while some sort of concept of unity is found, in the saying of a 15th-century Javanese poet—*Bhinneka Tunggal ika,* "unity in diversity", which now forms part of the state emblem, it may be doubted if the poet had in mind the whole of Indonesia; perhaps his vision was restricted to his own island.

Given the immense number of islands, the early historical contacts of India with Indonesia could not but be limited to a few islands of the archipelago. Nevertheless India left a deep impress on the islands it came into touch with. The effects are visible in the fields of language, literature, art, architecture and religion, though in no field were the indigenous elements eliminated or even subordinated.

Starting with the language, it has been already stated that the present-day language of Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia, is Malay, but the number of Sanskrit words in it is staggeringly high. This is

due to the presence of such words in Malay itself and to the fact that Old-Javanese literature is replete with them. Some words have retained their original form with a garb of local phonetic changes or adopted in the local linguistic structure. To give one of a thousand such examples, *beranchana Keluwarge,* 'family planning', is nothing but Sanskrit *virachana kulavarga.* After Indonesian independence, in the hunt for new words Sanskrit was heavily drawn upon. Thus, the House of War Veterans is named *Graha Purna Yudha,* a lecture-hall is *Vachana-Mandira.* Javanese names bear the full impress of Sanskrit : Soekarno, Soeharto, Soebadio (Suvadya), Soenarti (*oe* representing the Dutch form of *u* as in English 'put'), Adityaputro, can be cited as only a few examples. Personal names such as Gita Ratna, Lakshmi, Saraswati, Gayatri, Widyakumara, etc., represent a resuscitation of Sanskrit, mostly in Java. In the museum one sees the label *Archa Siwa* ('Artja Sjiwa' in the Dutch way of spelling) for an image of Siva, *Kepala Manusia Poerba* for an ancient human skull (Sanskrit *purva-manushya-kapala*). *Senggraha Kriya* (*H*)*asta* is a collection of handicraft. Another aspect of the resuscitation is the re-Sanskritization of Sanskrit words already well-adapted in the local tongue : *Karya* is now often substituted for *kerja* (*work*), *warta for berita* (*news*), *putra* and *putri* for *putera* and *puteri* (son and daughter). Semantic changes have often taken place : *guna* has acquired the meaning of strength and art; *sengsara* means sorrow, reflecting the Hindu view that the world (samsara) is full of misery.

It is impossible to be precise as to when and how Sanskrit was introduced in Indonesia. In the remote Kutei State in East Borneo belonging to Malaysia (West Borneo, under the name Kalimantan, belonging to Indonesia), four inscriptions on sacrificial pillars introduce us to a ruler called Mulavarman, son of Asvavarman and grandson of Kundunga, who made gifts to Brahmans. The inscriptions are engraved in South Indian characters of the end of the fourth century A.D. The names of the father and the son and the fact that the latter made gifts to Brahmans after a sacrifice might lead us to believe that the dynasty migrated to Borneo from South India, but it may equally be that some local chiefs were Hinduized by the migrating South Indian Brahmans. At any rate, the occurrence of Sanskrit in an Indian script and the practice of Hindu rites mark a landmark in Indo-Indonesian relations. They also bely the theory that it was the merchants who carried Hindu tradition to South-East Asia. As the preceding and following paragraphs would show, Hindu tradition, lore and literary practices spread over some

islands of the archipelago, and it is most unlikely that itinerant merchants could have achieved all this. It is more likely that Brahmanical (and Buddhist) priests were the chief carriers of Indianism. This is also borne out by the total absence of Prakrit words in the extensive Old-Javanese literature. A few Persian-Hindustani words in the language, such as *pasar*, from *bazar*, were however introduced in medieval times through trade.

The Pallava-Grantha script of South India was the parent of all scripts (except Arabic and Roman) current in Indonesia, though northern Buddhists, who appeared in the land in the seventh century, wrote their inscriptions in the contemporary north Indian script. A sidelight is thrown on Sanskrit phonetics itself by Indonesian, that is the non-dropping of the medial *a* at the end of Sanskrit words, dropping it being common in Indian (mostly north Indian) languages. The word *Ram* is incomprehensible in Indonesia; it must be pronounced as *Rama*. The invariable substitution of *b* for Sanskrit *v* may point to the influence of east Indian languages, but this is counterbalanced by the absence of the *sh*-sound in Indonesian, it being invariably replaced by *s*, whereas as in east India the reverse, is the case.

To come back to inscriptions. After the Borneo inscriptions the epigraphical scene shifts to Java, and that island remains supreme in Indo-Indonesian relations till the 15th century. In west Java four Sanskrit inscriptions, all in South Indian script of the 6th-7th century, mention a ruler called Purnavarman of Taruma, three with engraved footprints purporting to belong to him, 'as if they were of Vishnu'. The fourth records the conversion (?) of a canal called Chandrabhaga into the river Gomati; whatever that may mean, the names show Indianization. As in the case Mulavarman of Borneo, there is nothing to show that Purnavarman belonged to a colonizing Indian dynasty; more likely he was a Hinduized local chief. From Tuk Mas in central Java comes an inscription of the 7th century, comparing a local spring with the sacred Ganga-Sanskrit inscriptions, composed in the literary style of Indian *prasastis* (they are themselves sometimes called prasastis), recording the founding of temples of Hindu gods and paying homage to them and, in one case, recording the founding of a temple of the Buddhist goddess Tara and louding her, befittingly in the script of east India, continue till the 9th century, when they give place to those in Old-Javanese. These latter inscriptions introduce to us a host of officers headed by the king, some with Indian titles and the rest with Old-Javanese ones, bespeaking a

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feudal hierarchy, much in the same way as we find in the mainland of that age.

Of all the islands of Indonesia, it is Java (and thence Bali and Lombok) that has a rich literary tradition from about the 10th century to recent days. In its early (Old-Javanese) phase the texts are almost invariably based on Indian themes and follow Indian Poetic practices. The earliest extent text is the *Ramayana*, written in about 900 which closely follows the Sanskrit text *Ravana-Badha* of Bhatti for about half its length, whereafter it is based on wild imagination. The courts in central and later on east Java were patrons of the Sanskrit *Kavya* style, in Sanskrit metres and Indian literary imagery, with a substantial number of Sanskrit words, though the Sanskrit vocabulary 'represented only a skeleton of the living language as written in India, as conjugation and declension was disregarded'[2]. Sanskrit words were used as if they were part and parcel of the Old-Javanese; there is a text on Sanskrit grammer (though very elementary) and more than one text on Sanskrit prosody. Sanskrit metres had the generic name of *laghu-guru* (the basic principle of Sanskrit prosody, at least a substantial part of it, being the placing of *laghu*--light or short--and guru—heavy or long—syllables in a prescribed sequence). Later on, in Middle-Javanese, Sanskrit metres gave way to locally evolved metres.

Known as *Kakawin*, the word perhaps in some way connected with Sanskrit *Kavi* and *kavya*, this class of Old-Javanese literature comprises a large number of poetic (and limitedly prose) works, including the *Bharata-Yuddha* (a summary version of the *Mahabharata*) and others based on minor Sanskrit epic literature, such as the *Arjuna-wiwaha* (the marriage of Arjuna, but its central theme being the fight of Arjuna with a demon king Niwata Kawacha), the *Krishnayana* (the story of Krishna marrying Rukmini), the *Smara-dahana* (the burning of the god of love by Siva); the *Bhoma-kawya* (the story of Krishna's son Samba going in search of his beloved and Krishna killing the demon Bhoma or Naraka); the *Arjuna Sahasrabahu* (the story of the struggle of Karttavirya Arjuna with Parasurama); the *Brahmanda-purana* (which has little to do with the Sanskrit *purana* of that name); *Arjuna-wijaya* (again with Karttavirya as its hero); the *Sivaratri-kalpa* (the story of a poor hunter accidentally pleasing Siva); and so on. The *Kunjara-karna* is a didactic Buddhist text, whereas the *Writta-sanchaya* is a small lyrical poem—in the tradition of the Sanskrit *duta-kavyas*—in which ducks are sent out by a girl in

search of her lover, its chief interest being that it is simultaneously a text on Sanskrit prosody.

Above have been named a few *kakawins,* works written in the Indian *Kavya* style, mostly in the royal courts of Kadiri, Singasari and Mahapahit in east Java from the 10th to the 15th centuries. In spite of their themes being derived from Indian literature and their following Sanskrit literary style and imagery, they are far from adaptations of their Indian counterparts, the whole set-up being indigenous in colour and texture; they are the creation of Javanese court poets, who, mostly living in an age when Sanskrit literature had its heyday in its homeland, knew some Sanskrit and had an acquaintance which became feebler and feebler with the passage of time, with *Sanskrit Kavya* style. Nevertheless, they nobly represent the Indo-Javanese phase of Javanese literature and have left and indelible impress on the later Javanese literature and manner of literary thinking. With the Islamization of Java in the 15th century, Old-Javanese literature found refuge in the unconverted islands of Bali and Lombok—the Middle-Javanese phase. But Indian tales were revived in the Muslim courts of east Java—mainly Jogyakarta and Surakarta—in the New-Javanese phase, so deep-rooted were they in the Javanese mind.

Much has been written, and can still be written, on the influence of Indian architectural styles on Indonesian monuments. While Indonesia had an old tradition, going back to Neolithic times, of erecting monuments dedicated to and supposedly housing ancestral spirits, the monuments for which Indonesia is justly renowned owe their origin to inspiration from India. An early group of some 24 temples, of Saivite affiliation, is found on the Dieng plateau; belonging to the 9th century, they are rectangular tower-like shrines, somewhat reminiscent of South Indian temple architecture. Meanwhile Buddhism of east Indian Mahayana variety had been introduced in Java by the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty of Sri-Vijaya in Sumatra, with its centre at Palembang but with central Java as the chief focus of its architectural activity. The most remarkable product of this activity is the great 9th-century monument of Borobudur (according to one scholar a corruption of Bhumisambhára-bhudhara) a *stupa* built up in terraces. While the architectural conception of building up *stupas* and temples in terraces was well-known in India, it reached its culmination at Borobudur, where each of the six lower square terraces and the three upper circular ones each symbolize a stage (*bhumi*) of emancipation, till the tenth and final stage, in the form of a crowning *stupa,* is reached. This is not the place to analyse the symbolic mythology represented in the monument

and it would suffice to say that it reflects the cosmos of Mahayana conception.

A much less ambitious temple is the one at Kalasan founded in 778 and dedicated to Tara. The inscription associated with it is in east Indian characters, consistent with its Mahayana affiliation. Its high plinth is made up of Indian architectural components.

While there are other notable Buddhist monuments in central Java, Buddhism was short-lived and gave way to monuments of the Brahmanical faith, chiefly Saivism, but never to the exclusion of Vaishnavism. Prambanan, with its triple shrine, the central one Saivite and the two extreme ones dedicated to Vishnu and Brahma, respectively is a notable monument of the 9th century.

When, in the 10th century, the centre of political activity shifted to east Java, we find the development of the Siva-Buddha cult —a cult not unknown in east India. The monuments built by the dynasties of Singasari (1222-92) and Majapahit (1293-1309), both of east Java, move further and further away from Indian tradition, from the points of view of both architecture and plastic art, as well as in their very function and concept—a matter which requires some elaboration.

The primeval cult of Indonesia is that of the veneration of ancestral spirits. This cult, sometimes in a modified form, begins to assert itself as the thin veneer of the superimposed Indian faiths, which at best covered the higher strata of society, wears out. While the earlier temples had the same function as Indian temples, *i.e.* worship of celestial divinities in their earthly abodes, the later temples of Java, particularly east Java, are often memorials of departed royalties identified after their death with their favourite deities—Brahmanical or Buddhist. In a way, therefore, they are funerary monuments in which the dead ruler is resurrected as a god and an edifice is raised over his deified effigy. This point, though relearnt, have ben exaggerated by some scholars[3] who have overlooked the essential conceptual difference between the earlier (central) and later (eastern) Javanese temples, called *chandi* (a word supposedly derived from Chandi, a name of Durga but loosely applied to any religious building). A balanced view sums up the position as follows[4] : 'There is at any rate no need to view all statues to be found in *chandis* or museums as images

of defied personages, no more than to regard all monuments as burial monuments', particularly as 'neither the dead body nor the complete ashes of the deceased were introduced into the temple'. 'The statues, the stone caskets placed in the shafts below them and in general the *chandi* itself as a whole might be seen as glorified bodies of the deceased. The caskets contain besides some scanty remains of calcined bones—if to be found at all—various matters such as semi-precious stones, metals, coloured earth etc.'. (The relic-caskets enshrined in the Buddhist *stupas* of India often contain similar material.)

In the realm of the plastic arts, east Javanese sculpture moved away from the Indian tradition towards the *wayang* (shadow-play) tradition. This tradition, in all probability, is Indonesian in origin.

It has been said above that, with the advent of Islam in Java in the 15th century, the whole of the Old-Javanese literature and perhaps with it the Hindu-Javanese tradition were transferred to the tiny islands of Bali and Lombok, where they were fondly preserved and added to. These two islands are regarded as Hindu, Indian influence having reached Bali in about the 8th century. It is difficult to identity the elements of Hinduism as practised now with those which owe their origin to the earlier Indian contacts and which were transferred from east Java. The society is horizontally cleft into the four Indian *varnas*—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, and there are priests, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, the latter of a lower status. There are temples attached to each household where rites are performed on full-moon days and on the anniversary of the foundation of the temple. The temples themselves are very different in style from Indian or even Javanese ones, consisting as they do of a series of wooden or bamboo altars, for invoked gods and spirits of departed ancestors to sit on. The invocation is done by the priest who consecrates water with *mantras*, recites prayers to gods and performs various rites, much in the Hindu fashion, himself acquiring a sort of trance in the process. The incantations that he recites are mostly in incorrect Sanskrit, which has been called Indonesian Sanskrit their meaning he himself hardly understands except through their Balinese renderings where available. Some of them, however, have been handed down to him in a very correct form, *e.g.* the following recited in the course of consecrating water—*tirtha* (the text is given here in Nagari characters to facilitate its understanding by the Indian reader).

गंगा-सिन्धु-सरस्वती-सुयमुना गोदावरी नर्मदा
कावेरी सरयूर्महेन्द्रतनया चर्मण्वती वेणुका ।
भद्रा वेत्रवती महासुरनदी ख्याता च या गण्डकी
पुण्याः पुण्यजलाः समुद्रसहिताः कुर्वन्तु ते मंगलम् ।।[5]

This array of names of Indian rivers of India for the consecration of water, even perhaps without the awareness that they are Indian, shows how deeply Indian beliefs have penetrated into the Balinese.

A word of caution, however. Daily worship of deities is not the practice in Bali as it is in India. The gods and ancestral spirits are supposed to come down from their mountainous abodes to their terrestrial seats only on occasions, and that is only when they are invoked. On other days the temples remain deserted and uncared for, to be renovated on the next occasion of their visit. The animating principle is entirely different from that of India; it is essentially the same primal Indonesian belief in the worship of the spirit of departed ancestors—the belief that had produced the megalithic monuments in the Neolithic Age and the *chandis* of east Java, even though the intrusive divinities have been given Hindu names and attributes. This essence of Indonesian belief never lay dormant even under Indian influence, which acted at some periods more horizontally than vertically.

We have heard much about 'Hindu Colonies in the Far East' and such other subjects, though not a single such colony has been identified historically or archaeologically. There have unquestionably been Indian cultural contacts, but it is doubtful how deep they penetrated into Indonesian and other South-east Asian soil. Whatever penetration took place did have its effects; however, it would be unjustified to exaggerate these. The matter is most significantly summed up in the words reportedly uttered by Rabindranath Tagore during his visit to Indonesia : 'I see India everywhere but cannot recognize it'. Reflecting on the statement after seeing Java and Bali even partially, one realizes its full implication.

The question as to who were the carriers of Indian culture to Indonesia has been partly discussed above, and it has been shown that merchants, adept as they were in their own line, were not expected to carry with them Indian literature, metres, mythology, iconography and such other things with their merchandise. Did visiting students and travellers from Indonesia carry back with them elements of Indian culture ? This is not an impossibility, but there is only scanty evidence to prove it.

It is a well-documented fact that Devapala, the Pala ruler of east India of the first half of the ninth century, being requested by Maharaja Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra), granted five villages for the upkeep of monks and copying of manuscripts in a monastery at Nalanda built by the Sumatran king, evidently for the stay of the Buddhist monks from his country. Apart from this there is no record that there was any large-scale traffic from Indonesia to learn the Buddhist (or Brahmanical) lore, though the visit of stray travellers is not ruled out. Even the author of the Old-Javanese *Ramayana* is not likely to have visited India, for where he lets loose his imagination he is far from realistic, as in his description of the river Sarayu, which flew past the capital of his hero.

Conquest of Indonesia or any part thereof by Indian princes is also not on record, except a temporary occupation of Sumatra by the Chola rulers of South India in the tenth century. But Indic elements in Indonesian culture date back to earlier times.

The only probable explanation is that Brahmanical and Buddhist priests[6] visited Indonesia independently or on invitation and initiated the royal courts into Indian language, religion, rites and architectural and plastic traditions and 'Hinduized' those associated with the courts. The Buddhists had no inhibitious in converting foreigners, but the Brahmans overcome all their prejudices against bringing non-Hindus into their fold. Perhaps they soon lost their identity among the local population but were reinforced off and on by compatriots from the homeland, who in turn brought current Indian practices with them. A prime motivating factor for such migrations was the lure of royal patronage, which, as inscriptions show, was abundantly forthcoming.[7]

Notes

1. O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan,* London-New York, 1957, p. xxix.

2. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java,* I, The Hague, 1967, p. 16.

3. E.G. Willem Stutterheim, The meaning of the Hindu-Javanese candi', *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 51, pp. 1–15. His view has been largely followed by Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia, Continuities and Changes,* New York, 1967.

4. A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesia Art,* Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 21–23.

5. C. Hooykaas, *Surya-sevana, the Way to God of a Balinese Siva Priest,* Amsterdam, 1966, p. 94.

6. While the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien (early 5th century) did not find much of Buddhism in Indonesia, I Tsing, another pilgrim of the late 7th century, spent some time in the country studying Buddhism.

7. In this article of a popular nature diacritical marks have not been used in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Sanskritic Indonesian words.

INDIA AND MALAYSIA

DEVAHUTI

Pre-historic Contacts

INTERCHANGE of ideas and goods between Indian and South-East Asia had its beginnings in the pre-historic period. Malaysia, specially its western state of Malaya, was of great importance as a half-way house for the peoples of India, China and continental and island South-East Asia. For these times, when geography played a pre-eminent role in determining polity and economy, Malaya may be taken to indicate the Malay peninsula—a geographical entity—of which the northern narrow stretch now forms part of Thailand. Malaysia's eastern states in Borneo across the South China Sea consist of Sabah and Sarawak. Their history, is, not unexpectedly, tied up with the rest of the large island of Borneo. Although very limited field work has so far been done in eastern Malaysia, it has resulted in significant information and material remains for the Indian cultural historian.

The oldest pebble artifacts discovered at Kota Tampan in the Perak Valley of Malaya have affinities with similar objects in Pleistocene terraces in India, Burma and Java.[1] There are also ethnic and linguistic connections between India and Malaysia through the Proto Australoid and Mongoloid elements present in both the regions.[2] Excavations in the Philippines, Malay peninsula, Java, northern Borneo and southern India have revealed similar, sometimes identical iron-age objects, implements, weapons, bangles and beads, belonging to the first millennium B.C.[3] Chinese sources refer to Indian products reaching China by sea in the seventh century B.C.[4] The Indonesians too appear to have sailed through the Indian and perhaps the South Atlantic Oceans at a very early date, as suggested by the existence of the Indonesian type zylophone in western Africa prior to the establishment of Sri-Vijaya.[5]

The bead trade of the ancients linked the harbours of the vast Asian continent for many centuries. Sites in the Philippines; at Oc Eo in Funan (Indo-China); at Kota Tinggi in Johore and Kuala Selinsing in Perak; and at Arikamedu near Pondicherry, all appear to have been part of the chain.[6] The discovery of Hittite, Phoenician and Roman beads at Kota Tinggi, in view of India's

affluent trade with the Roman world, is suggestive of the presence of Indian intermediaries in the area.

Early Settlements—Causes and Nature

The earliest settlements in Malaysia were, for geographical reasons, along the coast. Their development was determined by the quality of their hinterland and by their situation in respect to regional and 'international' land and sea-routes. The slow opening up of the country, a surplus of produce, and growing population interacted with foreign contacts to effect the nature of Malaya's internal social structure and her external political and economic alignments. At the time when Indian trade intensified around the beginning of the Christian era with a demand for South-east Asian gold, tin, scented woods, spices, etc., Malay society was economically and politically receptive to the introduction of better organisational skills, and in the fields of art and religion to greater enrichment. However, the transformations that took place in the Malay indigenous milieu obeyed their own ethos. The Indian and Malaysian correlations touched all strata of society. From the bead trade of the pre-historic man to the clay tablets with Buddhist formulae, to the wayside theatre on the localised themes of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana testify that the correlations were not confined to the court and the temple as claimed by the supporters of the 'elite' theory. A combination of the two streams, the Indianised South-east Asian and the Asianised Indian ultimately led to the syncretic empires of South-east Asia. Although the culture and political system of the region were mainly influenced by India and not China, we mostly have only the Sinicised nomenclature for the early kingdoms and peoples as our information is derived from the Chinese sources.

Tun-hsun and Funan

The Malay peninsula had a confederacy of five kings named Tun-hsun in the north.[7] Its beginnings were, probably, not much later than Funan in Indo-China in the first century A.D. In the third century A.D. Funan succeeded in annexing Tun-hsun. It is recorded about Tun-hsun "East and West meet together so that daily there are innumerable people there. Precious goods and rare merchandise—there is nothing which is not there".[8] It is also stated : "In the country there are 500 families of *hu* (merchants ?) from India, two hundred *fo-t'u* (Buddhists ?) and more than a thousand Indian Brahmanas. The people of Tun-hsun practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; consequently many of the Brahmanas do not go away.... They study

the sacred canon..... and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night".[9]

By the fifth century Funan, which was suffering under weak rulers, approached P'an-p'an, possibly one of the five constituents of Tun-hsun, and stretching across the Kra Isthmus to the Bay of Bandon, to supply her with an able ruler. The Brahman from P'an-p'an who was installed as king took the title Chiao Chen-ju (Kaundinya) II, the first ruler of that name being the founder of Funan.

Langkasuka was probably another important kingdom of Tun-hsun which lay south of P'an-p'an. Its main port was Patani on the east coast. Langkasuka is mentioned in Indian, Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Arab and possibly European sources. According to the Chinese histories a king of Langkasuka was married to an Indian princess. His son and successor P'o-ch'-ieh-ta-to (Bhaga-datta) sent an envoy A-ch'e-to China in A.D. 515.

By far the most important kingdom of ancient Malaysia was Kedah. Located directly across the Bay of Bengal, situated on the trans-peninsular route to the east, and possessing a well protected harbour, Kedah had special importance for Indian sailors. It, therefor, figuresrelatively prominently in Indian literature and has yielded the richest archaeological evidence of Indian influence.

With different spellings Kedah is mentioned in the Tamil work Pattinappalai of the 2nd-3rd centuries. A.D.,[10] in the Vamana, Garuda and Agni Puranas,[11] in the Sanskrit play Kaumudi-mahotsava[12] of the 7th century; and in the Prakrit work Samaraichcha-kaha of the 8th century; and in the Brihat-katha-manjari and the Katha-sarit-Sagara of the 11th century based on the Brihat-katha of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Arab literature is full of references to Kalah.[13] According to Abu Dulaf Mis'ar (10th century, quoted by Yakut), "....a tin mine there was such as existed nowhere else in the world ..... from which Kala'i swords were forged and they were the true Indian swords." Kalah is also described as the meeting place for the Brahmanas, the sages of India.

Another state of ancient Malaya, Pahang is mentioned in the Chinese sources. It was famous for its tin and gold. Its king Sri Pala-varma(?) was in contact with China in the fifth century A.D.

Ch'ih-t'u, literally Red Earth of the Chinese accounts located in the north of the Peninsula was probably the Rakamrittika mentioned in the fifth century Buddhist inscription of mahanavika Buddha-gupta found in province Wellesley. The Chinese works emphasize the Buddhist-Saiva character of the kingdom. Although it is the custom to worship the Buddha greater respect is paid to the Brahmanas. 'In front of the king's couch is a recumbent golden bull.'

Malay Peninsula and Sri-Vijaya

Funan (in Indo-China) which controlled the northern parts of the Malay peninsula from the third century A.D. declined in power about the middle of sixth century with the rise of Chenla (modern S.E. Laos). The Funan phase of Malaya was probably followed by a short interregnum when each of the various states had an independent existence and no collective overlord. In the meantime Sumatra saw the rise of Sri-Vijaya in the latter half of the seventh century. After gaining control over the Straits of Sunda and Malacca her kings extended their power over northern Malaya as proved by the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. recording the Mahayana Buddhist temples at the behest of a Sri-Vijaya king, probably named Dharma-setu. From about the middle of ninth century the Sri-Vijaya empire came under the domination of the Sailendras of central Java. Builders of the great Borobudur, the Sailendras were in contact with the Palas and the Cholas. There is record of at least two monasteries built by them in India, one at Nalanda in 9th century and another at Negapatam in C. 1006 both of which received Indian royal patronage.

According to the Arab chronicler Mas'udi (943) the Sailendra empire (al-Zabaj-Sri-Vijaya) was so large that even the most rapid vessels of the time could not go round it in two years. He also tells us that the Maharaja was extremely rich.

However, the kings of central and east Java felt powerful enough to attack the Sailendras of Sri-Vijaya around 990 A.D. The latter strengthened their position through closer contacts with India (Cholas) and China and finally defeated their rivals in 1016. It was probably their mutual antagonism which afforded the Cholas an opportunity to lead a powerful expedition to contest, it seems, with Sri-Vijaya, the maritime supremacy of the Bay of Bengal. Even as early as 1007 Rajaraja-I had claimed the conquest of twelve thousand islands. In 1017 his son Rajendra Chola may have attacked the peninsular territories of Sri-Vijaya by raiding Kataha. The next major expedition may be dated 1025

when according to the Tanjore *prasasti* (1030-1031) of Rajendra, the Cholas attacked the following places mentioned with their identifications, those on the Malay peninsula being marked with an asterisk : Sri-Vijaya (Palembang); Pannai, Pane (east coast of Sumatra); Malaiyur (Jambi); *Mayirudingam, the Jih-lo-t'ing of Chao Ju-kua on the Isthmus; *Ilangasoka, Langasuka; *Mappappalam, Papphalama of the Maha-vamsa (deltaic Burma, a southern province of Pagan); Mevilimbangam (not identified satisfactorily); Valaippanduru (not identified satisfactorily), *Talaittakkolam, Takola of Ptolemy and of the *Milindapanha,* on the Isthmus; Madamalingam*, the Tambralingam of the Chaiya inscription and the Tan-ma-ling of Chau-Ju-kua, at Ligor; Ilamuri-desam, the Lamuri of the Arabs, Lambri of Marco Polo and Lan-wu-li of Chao Ju-kua at the northern tip of Sumatra; Nakkavaram, the Necuveran of Marco Polo, Nicobar Island; *Kadaram, Kedah.

The Malay annals attribute the destruction of Ganganagara on the Dinding river, of a fort on a tributary of the Johore river and of Tumasik (the site of Singapore) to a raid by the Tamil Raja Cholan (or Suran).

It may be assumed that the empire of Sri-Vijaya was constituted on the same confederate basis, with a number of lesser kings bound in subordinate alliances with the *Chakravarti,* as were many of the empires of India. However, this was not the kind of relationship between the Cholas and Sri-Vijaya. A distance of something like 1500 miles was too much even for sustaining nominal suzerainty for any great length of time, yet the Chola kings maintained their interest in Sri-Vijaya at least until 1068 when Vira-rajendra is said to have "conquered Kadaram on behalf of the king who had come to ask for his aid and protection and delivered the conquered country to him".[14] No doubt the Cholas were, at this time, a power to be reckoned with in the Bay of Bengal.

That the Chola-Sri-Vijaya relations gradually improved—is also attested by the smaller Leiden grant[15] according to which the Chola Rajendra-deva-kulottunga at the request of the king of Kidara renewed in 1090, the grant to the 85 year old Buddhist monastery at Negapatam. There is also a Tamil inscription dated 1088, found at Labu Tuwa near Baros, issued by a powerful corporation of merchants from southern India.

Sri-Vijaya and east Java flourished side by side. Secure once again in her relations with India (Cholas) and East Java, and on

good terms with China, Sri-Vijaya resumed her role as a great maritime power in the latter half of eleventh and most of twelfth century. Writing in 1154, the Arab geographer Idrisi praises her for excellent business conditions but by 1226 when Chao Ju-kua wrote his Chu-fan-chin Sri-Vijaya was using coercive trade methods—an indication of the declining strength of the empire. Nan-p'i (Malabar) at this time was receiving ships annually from San-fo-ch'i (Sri-Vijaya), Chien-pi (in eastern Sumatra), and Chi-t'o (Kedah).

Malay Peninsula, the Thai and Majapahit

The list of Sri-Vijaya's dependencies in the *Chu-fan-chih* indicates a diminution of territory as Malayu is omitted and Chien-pi is stated to have become independent. But the peninsular territory appears intact and the following are included : Pahang, Trengganu, Langkasuka, Kelantan, Fo-lo-an (Kuala Berang on Trengganu river ?), Jih-lo-t'ing (near Ligor and Grahi). Ch'ien-mai-pa-t's, (?) Tambraalinga, Chaiya, and Chi-t'o (Kida, Kidaram, Kedah), Si-lan (Ceylon ?) is also mentoned as a dependency of Sri-Vijaya. In 1230 however, Chandra-bhanu of Tambra-linga (Ligor) in the north revolted and captured Grahi. In 1247 he succeeded in establishing a settlement in Ceylon but was defeated in a conflict with her in 1270. He had been on friendly terms with the Thai who, upon his decline, over-ran the peninsular possessions of the already dismembered Sri-Vijaya. Tumasik (Singapore) which flourished between 1299-1391[16] was, however, able to repulse a Thai raid made in the fourth or fifth decade of the fourteenth century.[17] Perhaps it succeeded because it was within the Majapahit polity.

To trace the rise of Majapahit by taking up the political history of east Java from mid-twelfth century. In 1049, Erlanga of the house of Mataram in East Java had divided his kingdom into two. These divisions were finally united by Angrok, the founder of Singosari in 1222. It was the last king of this dynasty, Kritanagara (1268-92) who contributed to the downfall of the now declining empire of Sri-Vijaya. His reign also saw the invasion of the Mongols. His successor Vijaya (Kritarajasa Jayavardhana) was the founder of the house of Majapahit. Majapahit reached its apogee under the prime-ministership of Gajah Mada (1331-64). Sri-Vijaya slowly distintegrated and the greater part of the Malay peninsula came under Majaphit's influence even if not under its direct rule.

The Nagara-kritagama of Prapancha composed in 1365 lists fifteen dependencies of Majapahit in Pahang which then denoted the southern half of the Malay peninsula : Hujang-medini (Johore), Langkasuka, Sai (buri), Kelantan, Trengganu, Nasor, Paka, Muara Dungun, Tumasik, Sang-hyang-hujang, Klang, Jerai and Kanjapiniran.

Prapancha's claim may not be taken to mean Majapahit's tight or even continuous political control of all the territories all the time, not only because of the style of Indo-Javanese polity but also because of constant Thai pressure for domination over the region. However, there is considerable evidence of Majapahit's influence over the area. Evidence for it may be summarized as follows : The Chinese envoys were put to death by Majapahit for recognising the independence of San-fo-tsi (Sri-Vijaya) when she was already subordinate to Java. The Chinese emperor overlooked this act on the part of Majapahit. The *Malay Annals* speak of Majapahit's victory over Tumasik (Singapore) in the late fourteenth century. A bronze Ganesa found at Ligor has a Tamil inscription reading Ma-jha-pi-chi-de-sa. Coin like amulets from Kelantan, *Keris* hilt and sheath designs from Kelanthan and Patani, motifs on bracelets recovered from Kedah and Singapore, the Singapore river monolith, and Malacca's stone *makara* are other likely proofs of Majapahit's hegemony over the region.[18]

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Tumasik (Singapore) appears to have become the testing ground of Thai and Majapahit's attempts to inherit the legacy of Sri-Vijaya; it was the scene of several military incursions. The weakening of Tumasik coincided with the rise of Malacca under a Hindu convert to Islam, Paramaisura Iskandar Shah of Sumatra or Java married to a Majapahit princess and later to a muslim princess of Pasai. This Sumatran State was the first in the archipelago to accept Islam under the influence of the Arab and the converted Muslim traders of India. The Thai were slowly eased out but they retained the Isthmus. By the end of the fifteenth century Malacca controlled the whole of Western Malaysia much as it is today, as well as some northern and eastern river states of Sumatra. It was as if Sri-Vijaya had been revived only under a Muslim king. Iskandar Shah's son assumed the old title of Sri-maharaja. To the Hindu-Buddhist elements of Malay culture a new pushful one had been added now, that of Islam. It was to dominate the cultural scene, with the older tradition—its values as well as institutions—influencing the new system while being influenced by it, somewhat like Jainism or Buddhism *vis-a-vis* Hinduism in India.

Eastern Malaysia—Sarawak and Sabah

Sarawak

Borneo, which includes eastern Malaysia, Indonesian Kalimanthan and Brunei, occupies an important place in the early history of South-east Asia. Varuna dvipa of the Vamana Purana (13. 9-10) is probably a reference to Borneo. Favourably placed on the international trade route, having a number of large rivers and possessed of great natural wealth, Borneo probably preceded Sri-Vijaya (Palembang) in the matter of trade and cultural interaction with other countries.

The north and west coast, of which the upper part consists of East Malaysia (and Brunei), are rich in gold and diamonds. Borneo was also an important source of quartz, camphor, tree resins and animal products.

The region appears to have been in contact with Indianised Fu-nan in Indo-China and Tun Hsun in the north of Malay peninsula. The information from the Chinese sources seems to indicate that Hinduism predominated in the region until fifth century A.D. The early history of Funan starting with a Kundinya Brahman founder; information about Tun hsun in the fifth century Funan Chi quoted by the later work T'ai p'ing yu lan; and the c. A.D. 400 Yupa inscriptions from eastern Borneo testify to it. However, Hinduism and Buddhism always co-existed, often in a typically South-east Asian intermingled form. The eight Buddhist inscriptions in somewhat late Karnata (often called Pallava) Brahmi from the Kapuas region of western Borneo are of a later age than the Yupa records. The verses in Sanskrit, engraved on the sides of *stupas* carved on the rock face, repeat the two well-known formulae also found on the c. fifth century Kedah and Province Wellesley inscriptions from Malaya, the latter of which also has the *stupa* motif.

From Sambas, western Borneo, west of Kuching in Sarawak also comes the *cache* of Buddhist images and other objects. Two standing Buddhas, one silver and one gold, appear to be of Gupta style and may be dated 6th or 7th century. Two seated gold Buddhas and five other images of later, perhaps by two centuries, indicate generalised Pala influences. The most interesting item, an 8 inch high incense burner of *c.* 7-8th century with a wagon roof with cocks stop, triangular perforations, the *kudu* design although without the usual pointed crest and the chaitya-arch-on-pillars motif is probably a sample of contemporary Indo-Bornean architecture.

Near Kuching, up the Sarawak at Bongkissam, Santubong are the remains of an eleventh century Tantric shrine, which yielded a silver reliquary with a solid gold *linga*, and near it 142 gold objects of Hindu-Buddhist import. The nature of the finds and other indications suggest that it was a Tantric Buddhist temple of c. eleventh century.

At the nearby site of Bukit Maras were found an elephant made of glass, a tile with an incised elephant, several gold pieces and 508 beads. Thousands of fragments of locally made pottery from here and nearby Tanjong Kubur have striking Indian appearance. A solid gold ring has also been recovered from Tanjong Kubur.[19]

Not far from Bongkissam is Jaong, from where a number of gold objects and several rocks with spread-eagled human figures have been found. They are strikingly similar to the stylised human figures found in Indian copper hoards. The Jaong megaliths may suggest a line of investigation of the meeting of the Indian and indigenous cultures.

Several other Indianised finds of a specific or general nature have been found in various parts of Sarawak and western Borneo, *e.g.* a Ganesa from Bukit Berhala, a *nandi* from Sempro, a golden *keris hilt* from Balingian and a Kenyah *parang* handle of horn both with versions probably of the Kalmashapada motif, and so forth. Numerous *linga* and *yoni* stones have been discovered all over the region and many are held sacred by people both of pre-Muslim and Muslim beliefs who attribute to them supernatural powers.

Sabah

Sabah, the northern state of eastern Malaysia, lies on the west coast of northern Borneo. Following are some examples of India's contacts with Sabah from the earliest times : The existence of the Indian *Elephantus maximus*, glass beads from early iron age sites, high in silica and sodium, but low in lead and devoid of barium, a paper-thin blade for a spear (800 B.C. ?), and paper-thin pieces of gold and bronze foil for ritualistic purposes, evidence of the lost wax method of casting, and the Idahan legend of origin connected with the Garuda bird from the Lahad Datu district in eastern Sabah. According to Mr. B. Sandin, survivals of Hindu tradition may still be found among the Land Dayaks, and of Buddhist beliefs among the Iban (*See* Dayaks).[20]

Brunei

Between Sabah and Sarawak lies the small oil-rich independent Sultanate of Brunei. Politically outside the scope of this paper, a brief account of Brunei's Indian connections at this point is rendered necessary owing to its size and geographical position as well as cultural homogeneity with regard to eastern Malaysia.

As in the case of Sabah and Sarawak, Brunei's Hindu-Buddhist past merges smoothly with the Islamic present. The capital of a state which observes Friday as a public holiday has been renamed Bandar Seri Bagawan—the port city of Sri Bhagavan—after the name of a former great ruler. The tomb of the king Bolkiah who ruled in the 15th-16th centuries has Hindu-Buddhist decorative motifs. The Brunei museum has lamps, keris (dagger) hilts and canoe heads of Indian or Indonesian designs. It also stores the famous Limbang hoard found at the Bukit Mas hill of the Brunei Bay. The contents, among other things, are a stone Ganesa, a small gold lion, and several pieces of jewellery including four rings, three with incised motifs of conch, fish and a megalithic dolmen respectively, and the fourth with the word *a-ra-kta-ra* in Nagari characters such as those in the Kalinga inscriptions of 12th or 13th century.

The most recent find with Indian links from Brunei is a stone with two inscriptions, in Sanskrit on one side and in Jawi on the other. The carving on both sides is very similar, but the contents indicate that they are not related. The former prays for Buddhist heaven for four departed souls, and the latter dated 1418-19 carries the name of a third generation Muslim. The near contemporaneity of the inscriptions on the two faces of the same stone shows that diversity of religious beliefs was considered to be a normal, healthy state of affairs.

Architectural and Sculptural Remains in Western Malaysia and the Kra Isthmus

Johore

Kota Tinggi : 80 "early stone beads", 120 Roman beads of 1-3 centuries A.D., 1 Hittite and 2 Phoenician beads were apparently brought there by Indian traders. Kota Tinggi may be viewed as the intermediary trading link between Arikamedu (near Pondicherry) and Oc-eo (approximately 200 miles south-west of Saigon). There are also some lotus design pottery sherds *cf.* those from a Kedah site.

Perak

Kuala Selinsing : They are probably imitations of Indian stone beads and eye-beads, made locally,

a carnelian seal bearing in incorrect Sanskrit the inscription Sri Vishnuvarmmasya in South Indian characters of *c.* 6th century A.D. or earlier, and

a gold ring depicting most probably Vishnu on Garuda.

Bruas : Relics of the ancient 'Gangga Negara' where probably a number of Buddhist votive tablets were found.

Pangkalan near Ipoh : A bronze Buddha of 5th-6th century A.D. and a bronze throne for a deity.

Tanjong Rambutan : A small bronze Buddha image *c.* 6th century A.D.

Bidor : Eight-armed Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Pala style.

Sungai Siput : Two images of Bodhisattva Avalokiteswara and some gold ornaments.

Selangor

Jeram Beach near Kuala Selangor : Part of an ornamental stone arch for gateway discovered in 1970 (see Malaysian Digest, 16 October, 1970, p. 5)

Malacca : Fragment of *Makara* motif built into a well near the ancient Portugese church.

Pahang (reputed for tin and gold) : A hill perforated with pits to a depth of over 160 feet extending for miles. It was sighted in late nineteenth century.

Kedah : Kataha, or Kadaram of Indian and Kalah of Arab literature was the most important entrepot for traders. It is the region with the greatest number of Indianised finds. Over thirty sites have been discovered, mostly along the R. Bujang, with remains of small Hindu and Buddhist temples and stupas, inscriptions, caskets and sculptures. The site numbers refer to Quaritch-Wales' excavations. (J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. 18 Part 1, 1940, vol. 20, part 1, 1947).

Bukit Choras (Site 1) : A laterite basement of a stupa dated *ci* 4th century A.D. It is the earliest relic of this nature in South-east Asia. A stone inscription found at the site has the

ye-dharmma formula in South Indian characters of the fourth century A.D. Low's *Bukit Meriam* inscription from Kedah with two Buddhist verses (*Ye-dharmma* and *ajnanachchiyate karma* etc.) may also belong to the same age. Low had also discovered seven fragments of a Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A.D. from *Cherok Tekun* in the central region of *Province Wellesley*. His most important find, however, is a Sanskrit inscription in fifth century South Indian script, believed to have been found at *Guak Kepah Permatang*. It is on a stone slab engraved with a stupa with a seven member *chhatravali* and the verse *ajnanat* etc. followed by a prose benediction wishing all success to the mahanavika Buddhagupta of Raktamrittika, or the Red Earth. Raktamrittika has been variously identified with Ch'ih-t'u —Red land on the east coast of the Malay peninsula south of Langkasuka and with Rangamati in Bengal. At the *Buddhist site* 2 a sundried clay tablet with three Sanskrit slokas on three faces in South Indian script of sixth century was discovered. The verses are of Mahayana content and are to be traced to a Chinese translation of the *Sagaramati-pari-prichchha*.

The *Saiva Site 4* of the sixth or seventh century A.D. has yielded a *Snana-droni* (*yoni*) and a *linga*, head of a granite *nandi*, a relief of Ganesa and one of *durga mahishasura-mardini*, as well as a miniature bronze shrine, a granite lamp stand, a small bronze bell and various glass and clay objects.

The *Saiva Site 8* at *Bukit Pahat* is of great importance for its finds which comprise a *snana-droni*, a bronze trident, small silver capsules in the scales for pillars for the temple structure, and above all, eight nine chambered caskets of funerary significance. The central depression in one casket contained among other things a bull cut out of silver foil, and a folded gold foil image of a seated female deity holding a trident in one hand and a lotus in the other. From the Javenese *chandi* temples, we know that after cremation the king's ashes were buried under their statues made in the likeness of the gods they worshiped. The Kedah temple appears to be the transitional link between the sepulchral shrines of Southern India with lingas in them and the more elaborate chandis of Java.

From the *Buddhist Site 10* have been recovered deposits of a type unknown in India or Indonesia : one gold and six silver discs of 1½″ diameter with names of Bodhisattvas or of devotees inscribed on one side in South Indian script of the ninth century, but one disc has only the syllable *Om* inscribed on it.

From *Site 14,* a Buddhist shrine, has been recovered a fragment from the rim of a silver vessel inscribed on both sides in South Indian characters of sixth or seventh century. Some Pali words on it have been deciphered.

Site 16 has yielded a bronze casket containing model animals, a lion of gold, a bull of silver and a horse of copper, as well as miniature weapons and implements.

From *Site 16 A* has been found a beautiful bronze image of the Buddha of fifth century which is in the National Museum, at Singapore.

At the *Saiva Site 19* belonging to 11-12th century A.D. have been discovered a bronze *sakti* weapon of Karttikeya, fragments of a four armed terracotta Ganesa and part of a nine chambered reliquary.

Excavations in 1970 at the new site of *Kampong Pangkalan Bujang* brought to light a grinding stone and perhaps another linga, while work along the Sungai Merook Kechil revealed the remains of a large temple named *Chandi Telaga Sembilan.*

A belt of woven 25 carat gold wire with *Simha-mukha* design was hooked from the *Batu Lintang* river in the *Kuala Muda* district of Kedah. This is comparable with the Singapore bracelets of the same design from Fort Canning.

A number of Buddhist votive clay tablets, round or oval in shape with figures of Buddha or the Bodhisattvas and the formula of the creed have been found in the Malaya peninsula, in the *Isthmus,* in *Kedah* and the 1961 excavation at *Kanger* in *Perlis* Fabric and paleography assign them to tenth century A.D. The *Isthmus* with its centres at Takua Pa, Chaiya, Nakhon Strithammarat (Nagara Sri Dharma-raja, Ligor) and Takkola (Trang) has proved very rich in archaeological finds.

At *Phra Narai* at *Takua Pa,* three Brahmanical deities have been found, one of which may be a Siva or a Vishnu. Pallava in style, they may belong to the 7th or 8th century A.D. From the same site, a Tamil inscription of 9th century has also been recovered. It records the construction of a tank called *avani-naranam* (after the Pallava king, Nandi-varman III, 826-50) by the lord of Nangnr, to be looked after by *a mani* (*vanika*) *gramam* (guild of merchants) and one other group resident at the *senamukham* (cantonment). Did the Pallava King sponsor

regular trade expeditions whose leaders might have their own protective force to combat sea and land hazards such as piracy, theft, storms, etc.?

Chaiya is famous for its beautiful black bronze Lokesvara in Sri-Vijaya style of 9th century A.D. Nagara Sri Dharmaraja has the Buddhist monument Vat Phra That or Mahadhatu with the Indian motif of sculpted elephants appearing to carry the weight of the superstructure. From the interior of the same town at San Pra Isvon have been found the bronze images of a dancing Siva, Parvati and Ganesa. The Ganesa carries the important inscription Ma-jha-pi-chi-de-sa in modern Tamil characters—a significant proof of the extent of influence of the Majapahit empire (1292-*c.* 1520). Part of a homogenous group this image is not likely to have been a stray export to this region.

Theatre, Language, Literature and Crafts

In common with other countries of South-East Asia, Malaysian theatre, literature, sculpture, folklore, arts and crafts borrowed from and adapted for their own purposes the themes of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Buddhist Jatakas, and several other Indian works.

The puppet theatre tradition known as *wayang* in the Malay world is the most popular form of entertainment in this region. Mainly enacted through leather (*kulit*) puppets of sharp profiles lit from behind, the *wayang* shadow play integrates its heroes and heroines from the Indian repertoire : Rama, Sita, Hanuman, Bhima, Arjuna, etc. with indigenous characters such as Pak Dogah of Kelantan and Patani, and Semar of Indonesia.

Among the literary works inspired by the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the Hikayat (narrative) Seri Rama the Hikayat Perang (war) Pandawa Jaya and the Hikayat Maharaja Boma. The Sejarah (annals) Melayu and the Hikayat Tuah are also influenced by the epics and the Puranas. The Hikayat Nakhoda Muda, and the Hikayat Maharaja Pikrama Sakti are based on material from the Kathasarit-sagara. The southern classic *Manimegalai* provided the themes for many Sumatran folktales which also became popular in Malaya.

With the coming of Indian Muslim traders to Malacca, the Muslimised folklore of India, a medley of Hindu-Buddhist, Persian and Arab stories flooded Malaya. The Hikayat Indra Bangsawan and the poetical work Sha'er Bidasari represent this

influence. Islam also introduced to Malaya the three world famous cycles of tales, the Persian *Tutinameh* (based on the Sanskrit, Suka-saptati), the *Kalila dan Damina* (derived originally from the *Pancha-tantra*) and the Bakhtiar cycle. The *Sejarah Melayu* of the fifteenth century shows familiarity with the Ramayana, the Gita and the Panji cycle and contains several Sanskrit and Tamil words. The *Kedah annals* or *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* are full of local folklore and material from the Ramayana and the Jataka tales.

The two Indian scripts that were used in ancient Malaysia were the "Pallava" (more accurately the late Brahmi of Karnataka) from the south and the Nagari from the north. The Malayo-Arabic script evolved by the fourteenth century (Trengganu stone) and the language of the period was the mixture of Malay, Sanskrit and Arab words. Modern Malay has words from the ancient and modern Indian languages pertaining to all spheres of life thus : *Shurga* (heaven), *budi* (disposition, understanding), *guna* (quality), *bichara* (court case, opinion), *kapas* (cotton), *menteri* (minister of state), Kapal (ship), *dhobi* (washerman) etc.

The Malaysian *Keris* (two edged dagger) hilts are in the form of the strength-connoting Garuda, *rakshasa* or sometimes Hanuman, and the wavy blades represent naga.

Trengganu, Kelantan and Pahang (the Sri-Vijaya area) produce silks with designs reminiscent of India. This is also true of Malaysian gold, silver and brass work. Bronze is correctly known as *gangsa* (Skt.). The common spouted water kettle *Kendi* is from the Sanskrit *Kundika* which with Buddhism had reached China in the period of the six dynasties (A.D. 220-580).

However, Malaysian handicrafts represent a wide variety of Dayak, Batak and other indigenous methods and motifs and when the Indian, Indonesian, Indo-Chinese, Chinese and Malaysian influences are integrated in their pieces of art the product can only be described as Malaysian.

Polity

The Malay state was the negeri (Skt. nagara, nagari) and the capital focussed on a hill representing the *Maha-meru*, the abode of the king of gods-Indra. According to indigenous belief, the ruler, the medicine-man and the magician (the latter two known as *pawang*) all possessed marvellous powers with which they

could achieve super-human feats. The Hindu idea of the king's role to give human manifestation to the powers of the gods was, thus, easily accepted by the early Malaysians as an aspect of the same phenomenon. As he took the credit for the good that happened during his reign so the king blamed himself for the misfortunes that befell his kingdom. With *raja kalasya karannam* as part of his heritage the Sultan of Perak declared to Swettenham in 1890 that a succession of bad harvests were ascribable to the influence of the Resident and of his own.

The enthronement ceremony in Thailand, Cambodia and Malaysia still entails the Hindu ritual of lustration and anointing (abhisheka). In Perak apart from royalty, only the Sri Naradiraja, a court official with brahman ancestry, may handle the regalia. The new ruler wears special ornaments and symbols including a seal representing Indra's *vajra* (*chap halilintar*) with a handle of 'thunder' wood, and a sword substituting the Minangkabau *churika Mandakini* 'sprung from the heaven-born Ganga', and carrying inlaid figures of fourteenth century king Aditya-varman and of his consort in the form of Bhairava and his *sakti.*

While he sits motionless as a god, the Naradiraja whispers to the king the name of the Hindu founder of the dynasty. In incorrect Sanskrit he recites the king's eulogy and specifies his duties.

In Negri Sembilan the same formula is read in translation not by a Muslim priest but by a court official no doubt of Brahman lineage. The king is anointed four times to indicate his future mastery over the four quarters. His name is announced by a court herald standing in a ritualistic Brahman pose on one leg, the right foot resting on the left knee. Benedictory prayers are followed by the ruler being taken in procession for circumambulation of the symbolic *meru* denoting the royal domain.

The significance of the title Indra for royalty in South-east Asia is also evident from the following examples: the Sailendras were Indras of the mountain; Sumatra had an Indragiri, Pahang's capital was named Indra-pura and cities of this name existed in Champa and Cambodia.

As the kingdom was conceived in the image of the heavenly world, figures of astronomical importance—4, 8, 16, 32 etc. served to determine the size, in the descending order of importance,

of the various ranks of mentris a term that progressively became loose enough to indicate ministers, chiefs and State officials.

Some of the prerogatives of royalty were the same as in India, thus, the use of the white or yellow *chhatra,* of types of salutation etc.

The heir-apparent was the Raja Muda (young raja-*yuva-raja*). The most important officer who was both the prime minister and the commander-in-chief was the Bendahara (Skt. Bhandagarika). In modern Johore the second son of the king is given the title Bendahara. The officer next in importance was the Temenggong, the minister of police whose title also describes the patriarchal law of Malaysia.

The ruler's chamberlain and treasurer, the Bendahari (Bhandari from Skt. Bhandagarika) was an officer of early medieval Malaysia. In Malacca the Bendahari held the title Sri Naradiraja. The four ministers of the highest rank in Malacca were known as Paduka Sri Perdana Mantri, Paduka Maharaja, Paduka Maha Mentri and Paduka Sri Maharaja-diraja. The ministers combined executive and the judicial functions.

Mandulika (Skt. *mandalika*) a term for a territorial chief first occurs in the fourteenth century Trengganu state. They combined civil and criminal functions.

The admiral in Perak was entitled Lakshamana. He worked in collaboration with Shahbandars, a title of Persian origin which probably came with the Muslim traders of India.

Indian trade to Malaysia in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was so considerable that two of the four Shahbandars of Malacca looked after Indians. The senior-most Shahbandar attended to merchants from Gujarat and another to traders from Kling and Bengal along with those from Pegu and Pasai.

Indigenous Hindu and Muslim custom created a very sophisticated pattern of relations between the king and the chiefs. They shared decisions but the idea of a unitary sultanate was never violated.

Law

The Malay matrilineal customary law of the Minangkabau of Negri Sembilan takes into account human impulses and com-

munity needs. Consequently it is element in comparison with the Malay indigenous patrilineal law with relics of Hindu law superimposed by Muslim law. This latter syncretic body of laws known as *adat Temenggong* is preserved mainly in the Malacca digest of *c.* A.D. 1450, the Pahang digest of 1596, the Kedah digest of 1650, and the Johore digest of *c.* 1789.

Indian influence is more evident in constitutional and criminal law. The former strengthened the position of the king, the latter helped maintain law and order in a kingdom that thrived on cosmopolitan trade.

The Malacca digest—the Undang—Undang Melaka, in its preamble, gives us an idea of the king's prerogatives regarding modes of dress, salutation etc. after the Indian pattern. This is followed by prescription of death as punishment for ten-offences often referred to as *das-aparadhah* in Indian sources but the offences and punishment in the latter case were different.

The Indian *Varna* inequalities get reflected in the Malacca and Pahang digests which make offence proportionate to rank although there appear to have been deliberate loopholes to meet the demands of custom and tradition.

Slaves and land were two principal forms of property in early Malaya. Customary law looked after the interest of the slave to enable him to serve his master well. According to Hindu law the status of a slave was commensurate with the rank of the master. Muslim law while it imposed on the slave double the penalty meant for a free person for certain offences, it improved, in general, the status of the slave, specially of the debt bondsman.

With regard to land, the proprietary rights were basically over what it produced. The Rajas of Malaysia, affected both by indigenous and Indian tradition, when they granted or transferred land, they transmitted what they possessed, *i.e.* the rights to tithes, taxes, and services on it, and not the ownership of land.

Regarding credits, another form of property Malay and Hindu law collaborated to obviate Muslim law on interest by regarding the use of profits on the crop by the creditor as equivalent to interest rather than to the money borrowed.

The Kedah laws of A.D. 1650 are virtually port regulations. They closely resemble those recorded in the Indian Tarik-i-Tahiri which in turn had followed earlier tradition in many cases, like the use of standard weights and measures, port dues on ships, duty payable on items of import and export, reception of envoys and their dispatches etc.

Social System

The mid-fourteenth century account of Wang Ta-yuan places San-fo-chi (Sri-Vijaya) in lower central Sumatra in the Jambi river valley, rather than in Palembang. This was the ancient Melayu which corresponded with the future Minangkabau. The reign of the Buddhist Tantric king Aditya-varman lasted in Melayu until 1375. The north and the east coasts of Sumatra were at that time in various stages of Islamisation. With the rise of the Sultanate of Malacca early in fifteenth century the Hindu Minangkabau were attracted by its commerce. They sought the gold districts of Pahang and the valley of the region which came to be known, in eighteenth century, as Negri Sembilan.

In addition to their Sumatran Hindu background the Minangkabau who profess a matriarchal system have a common inheritance with the Khasi whom a late migration had taken to Assam in c. 2000 B.C. Many of the modern customs of the Minangkabau and the Khasi therefore, have close resemblances. The Khasi have very little polygamy, the Minangkabau too, in spite of Islam preferring monogamy. Women among both have proprietary rights over land. However, women in Negri Sembilan do not hold any office nor exercise any executive authority. They do not have the right to enter any contract including that of marriage. Generally there is more overall parity between the sexes in matrilineal systems, whether Khasi, Minangkabau or any other, compared with the patrilineal system.

So far as royalty is concerned the Hindu patrilineal tradition prevails with regard to descent and titles which devolve from father to son.

Malaysian indigenous Temenggong custom and tradition on family matters evince commonsense and a sense fairness. No parent has a monopoly over the child in case of divorce. In property matters it is recorded that the daughter inherited house, garden and household belongings and the sons, rice fields, mines

and iron tools or weapons. Sometimes the whole estate remained with the mother, its division being deferred until after her death, as is also the Hindu practice.

In forms of marriage, the Malay *Panjat Angkara*—forcible abduction (as sometimes practised by the kshatriyas of old, and *panjat adat*—peaceful abduction, both of which figure in the Malay Annals and *Silambari* (Skt. *Svayamvara*) which occurs in romance reflect Indian influence. Polygamy was not the general rule in ancient India, but some law books allow three wives to the Brahman, two to the Kshatriya and one to Vaisya. This seems to emphasize class privileges rather than reflect practise. In any case, the Negri Sembilan custom allows four wives to the ruler, three to the territorial chief, two to the tribal chief and one to ordinary people. The union of a high class man with a woman of lower class was accepted, but the reverse was looked upon with disfavour as among the Hindus.

There are similarities in the pre-nuptial observances by the bride, marriage customs, post marriage ceremonies and pregnancy rituals of the Indians and the Malays. The birth of the baby, its naming, shaving the head, commencement of studies etc. are also marked by similar rites. In India as well as in Malaysia both under the matrilineal and patrilineal systems, women are normally the family bankers.

Indigenous Malay custom did not allow *purdah* to be adopted in Malaysia. There are instances of women leading austere lives in the memory of their deceased husbands, as well as of widow remarriage, but the custom of sati, was also known to Sri-Vijaya according to the Chinese Chao Ju-kua. India had few women rulers but female succession was common in Java. Seniority in age even by a few years, even months, is respected both in India and Malaysia and so is old age.

Labour and produce in place of tax (*Kautiliya* 2.15.1, 2.16.63 and 2.35.1) were recognized in ancient Indian law. In accordance with their special endowments villages might provide cattle or forest produce, while individuals might pound, grind, fry, ferment, press oil or extract sugarcane juice etc. Land tax may also be accompanied by other taxes and service. In Perak one district supplied the Raja with timber for construction, another provided musicians, a third attendants for the royal children. In Kedah too the cultivators paid for the upkeep of the *gamelan* orchestra and supplied state elephants.

Religious System

The entire tradition, indigenous, Hindu and Muslim is summoned to bless occasions of great significance such as coronation, marriage, circumcision and harvesting. Part of the auspicious celebrations comprise the enactment of episodes from the Epics through *Wayang*. The *dalang* represents the divine puppeteer who inspires the actions of human beings. He honours Ganesa and worships Siva in his forms as *Bhatara Guru,* the great teacher, and *Neta-raja,* the great actor and dancer. On completion of the performance he prays: "*Om* I solute you... the gods are mounting to *Suralaya,* their heaven.. Siva the destroyer is descending from the summit.. When only the throne of Allah..... and the Koran existed, I was the original magician, uttering the original incantation to disperse spirits of evil—to their masters, king Solomon, Siva Rudra, Vishnu and the *Naga* at them naval of the sea...."

As in Buddhism the Hindu Gods occupied a minor position in relation to the Buddha so in Malaysian Islam the Hindu pantheon abided under the shadow of Allah and his prophet. Holy is he who has the knowledge of self and who practices self denial. His upkeep is the privilege of society. Tome Bires records (in 1512) that there were 50,000 *orang bertapa* (from Skt. *tapas*) ascetics in Java belonging to different sects and that the Muslims honoured and maintained them.

Shia Islam had empathy with Malay indigenous beliefs. Intellectual mysticism did not look down on magical mysticism and pantheism was contained in an all-enveloping monotheism and certainly in the Sufi *tasawwuf*. Influenced by India and by 17th cent Medina, the Sufi scholars developed an absolute monotheism.

Only after the traumatic experience of the second world war when the Malaysian woke up to his sense of identity did he consciously trace his roots to the ancient past—autochthonous and Hindu-Buddhist Malaysian. His medieval Islamic period he considered to be a natural continuation of it. His national aspirations bid him to build his future in line with this heritage.

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INDIA - PHILIPPINE CULTURAL RELATIONS

A Review

AJIT SINGH RYE

CULTURAL influences from India first reached the Philippines through the Hinduized kingdoms in Java, Sumatra and the peninsular South-East Asia particularly Champa. As to when this cultural contact took place, is still a subject of debate and research among the Filipino scholars, historians, archeologists, anthropologists, linguists and folklorists. The late Otley Bayer, believed that traders from Indian sub-continent reached the islands—later to be known as the Philippines—probably in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. However, other scholars, have discounted this view and placed the earliest date of contact with Indian culture somewhere between the 10th and 11th century A.D. Still these views are subject to further verification as more and more evidence is brought to light. Recent work of Dr. Juan Rodrigo Francisco has brought into focus the widespread Sanskrit influence on various languages and Hindu influences on the social life of the early Filipino that have proven to be of lasting nature. Elements of the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata have permeated folk literature of many ethnic groups in the island of Mindanao in Southern Philippines. It is especially pronounced in the literature of the Maranaos.

Pre-Colonial Period

Sanskrit in Philippine Languages

Don Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera (1857-1925) scholar statesman, made the first serious attempt to focus attention on the Indian influence on Philippine language and literature. His pioneering study—El Sanscrito en La Lengua Tagalog— Published in 1887—underlined the presence of Sanskrit words in various dialects particularly Tagalog and pointed out their significance in the development of Filipino religious thought and culture. Tavera, had a vision of relinking the Philippines, through the rediscovery of these cultural links, with the mainstream of Asian culture after four centuries of almost total isolation under Spanish dominance. Tavera's writings was to influence the national hero, Jose Rizal, who urged his countrymen to discover

their Asian roots and national cultural heritage that were overwhelmed by the powerful impact of Hispanization and Christianization of the country.

It is interesting to note that Sanskrit words are present in almost all major dialects spoken in the country. In the languages and literature of the Maranaos, Maguindanaos and the Tausog of Sulu, the Sanskrit influence is more marked. Their folklore and legends have distinct elements that are derived from the great Indian epics.

The nature of pre-colonial Indian cultural influence seems to be of lasting significance and it is certainly widespread. Historians and cultural anthropologists have pinpointed a variety of cultural and religious practices that have close affinity and marked similarities with customs and cultural traditions now prevalent in various parts of India. They cover marriage customs, family rituals, and even the kinship ties.

Islam came to the Philippines along the same cultural route that the earlier Hindu-Buddhist influences had followed to the Indonesian archipelago and beyond. It is generally accepted that the Arab traders introduced Islam into the area in the 14th century. By that time, Islam had established a foothold on the West Coast of India, and therefore, it is safe to assume that Muslim merchants and priests from India reinforced the missionary efforts of the Arabs in the spread of Islam. The Indian cultural influences continued to be felt in the area, although, with different orientation and emphasis. In time, pre-Islamic Indic influences, even though overlaid by more potent and vibrant Islamic faith, continued to play a vital role in the cultural life of the people. Much of it gradually sunk deep into the folklores and the folktales of the people and have thus survived to date specifically in the Muslim regions of Mindanao.

For example, the Maranao folklores have epic stories—such as *Maharadia Lawana* (Maharaja Rawana) and Radia (Indarapatra) that have elements ostensibly derived from the Hindu epics and other tales from India.

Colonial Era

Under the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1442, Pope Alexander VI divided the world into two parts and assigned Eastern hemisphere to Portugal and the Western hemisphere to Spain. It was the raging rivalry between these two major European naval powers of the time that led to Ferdinand Magellan's historic

voyage and which brought the Philippines under Spanish colonial rule beginning in 1521. Roy Lopez de Villalobos followed Magellan in 1524 and gave the country its name—"Las Islas Filipinas"—The Philippine Islands—in honour of the infant Felipe—later known as King Philip II in Spain.

The Spanish conquest of the Philippines was not welcomed by the Portuguese who were indignant at Magellan's intrusion into their Asian preserve. Spain, ever fearful of Portuguese invasion, officially closed the Philippines to foreign trade. With this policy the islands were, for the first time, completely cut off from the mainstream of Asian history. From then on the Philippines were to be governed through Mexico across the Atlantic and the Pacific. Furthermore, the Muslim Filipinos refused to accept the Spanish colonial overlordship and continued to defy Manila almost up to the withdrawal of the Spanish rule from the country by the end of the nineteenth century. Thus the traditional links with the rest of the South-east Asian region and that of India through Mindanao, Borneo and Java were almost completely cut off.

Landing of Indians in Manila 1762

The Philippines remained officially closed to foreign trade until 1834. During this period only a limited access was allowed on a selective basis and limited number. The only regular link with the outside world was through the galleon trade, a few Chinese traders, and limited commerce with Thailand and Cambodia.

This self-imposed isolation of the Spaniards in Manila was rudely ruptured in 1762. With the outbreak of the Seven Years War in Europe, the British mounted an expedition against Manila from the East India Company's possession in Fort St. George in Madras. This little war between the forces of East India Company and the Spaniards in Manila is significant in the study of Philippine-India contacts and cultural relations.

Of the 2000 soldiers and marines that comprised the main body of the British expedition, one-third were Indian Sepoys from the Arcot region of Madras. In addition, there were about 1,400 Indian labourers who accompanied the British forces. The Indian soldiers and labourers combined constituted nearly half of the total British forces that landed on the Manila Bay on 24 September 1762.

Many of them died during the assault on the Spanish fortification in Manila and during the fifteen-month occupation of

the city. These unknown Indian soldiers of the Seven Years War were ill-paid, ill-clad, ill-armed and ill-treated. The British used them as scouts. They fought barefoot— and they died miserably by snakebite, or of wounds inflicted by hidden bamboo spikes in the paddy fields. Some of them were taken prisoners by the forces of Don Simon de Anda Y Salazar, the Spanish official who defied the British authority. Many slipped into the countryside and did not return.

The British forces sailed out of Manila in June 1764 without waiting for the return of the Indian soldiers who strayed into the countryside nor did they look for those who might have been taken prisoners. Those who went back to India did not fair any better, some died on the way beacuse of an epidemic caused by the sub-human condition on the ship where they were kept like animals.

Those Indian soldiers who stayed in the countryside near the present town of Pasig, apparently settled down together in a small village, now a town called Cainta. The descendants of these Sepoys now constitute a large population of the town. They are a living memory of those unfortunate and perhaps first contingent of the Indian soldiers to come to the Philippine shores.

This episode in Philippine history had no immediate cultural significance. However, in India-Philippine relations, it has come to play an important role. India is often remembered in Manila because of the town of Cainta. To many Metropolitan Filipinos, the people of the town "resemble and represent India".

20th Century

It was not till the later part of the 19th century that some significant contacts between India and the Philippines were to be established. Trade picked up a bit. More important, some north Indians—curiously Punjabis drifted to Manila. They were mostly from Jullundur district in East Punjab. It has been suggested that those who landed in Manila were actually on their way to one of the Chinese ports of either Shanghai or Hong Kong. Most probably they came on ship sailing from Bombay and thus they have since been called the *Bombays.* Migration of Indian to the Philippines since the turn of the century has been generally slow and confined almost exclusively to two linguistic areas—East Punjab and Sind. The Punjabis, during the American rule were employed in business establishments as guard while the Sindis became small merchants. After the Philippines gained her independence in 1946, employment

opportunities for foreigners diminished and most of the Punjabis and Sindis engaged in business. Presently, Sindis are in a variety of business venture such as manufacturing, import, export and general merchandise. Punjabis are scattered over Metro Manila and are likewise in small business ventures.

The total Indian population in the country which never exceeded five thousand mark is a small community as compared to the Chinese and others.

Post-Independence

The Three Decades

In the past centuries, Philippine-India relations were largely indirect and these were even disrupted by colonialism. It was not until the two countries won their independence—the Philippines in July 1946 and India in August 1947—that they were able to establish a direct link with each other.

The Philippines was the first Asian country to gain independence from the United States on July 4, 1946. India, which was still in the process of achieving her full independence then sent an official delegation to participate in the independence celebration of the Philippines.

However, it was not until 1949 that the two countries established formal consular relations. The Consulates in Manila and Calcutta were eventually raised to the level of Legations in 1952 and a Treaty of Friendship between the two countries was signed in the same year. Diplomatic missions were finally brought up to the Embassy level in 1956.

A review of the Philippine-India relations over the past three decades significantly shows that the cultural and technical exchange have made tremendous progress despite seeming divergence in their foreign policy postures. On the other hand, trade between the two countries remained an insignificant part of their total world trade.

The establishment of diplomatic relations and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship in 1952 started the technical and educational cooperation between the two countries. Most significant and perhaps of lasting value to both was the start of the technical cooperation under the Colombo Plan. Filipino officials, students and trainees began to reach India in a steady flow. They brought

back knowledge and first hand cultural experiences which generated genuine desire to understand modern India in the Philippines. Similarly, Indian students, trainees, delegates and participants to a variety of international and regional conferences and seminars held in Manila began to discover, to their surprise, the vast amount of goodwill and traditional respect that India enjoyed among the educated Filipinos.

Even before the Philippine became independent a number of scholars at the University of the Philippines—then the only State university—continuously urged the teaching of Asian history and culture as an integral part of general education at the college level. History and culture of India constituted an important component of such teaching. An Indian scholar, Dr. D. N. Roy, from Bengal, rose to the position of the Head of the Department of Philosophy of the University. Another Indian scholar, Dr. Gokhla, headed the Department of Mathematics. Study of Indian history, culture, religion, and philosophy were well recognized in the Philippines by the time the two countries began to develop close cultural links in the mid-fifties.

A number of well-known Indian artists such as Hema Kesarkodi, Mrinalini Sarabai, Ravi Shankar, Late Prithavi Raj Kapur, Kalyani Roy, R. K. Suryanarayan, Ali Akbar and Sombu Mitra to name a few visited the Philippines over the past years to give special performances.

India sent a dance troupe to Manila on the occasion of the inauguration of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. Similarly, a cultural delegation from the Philippines visited India in 1962. Well-known artists, writers, scholars in the humanities and the social sciences have been visiting India for academic research, observation tours and to attend special seminars and conferences.

The birth centennial of Dr. Jose Rizal—the Philippine national hero was celebrated in 1961. Rizal, a man of science and letters, was executed at the age of 35 for his political writings and defiance of Spanish rule in the country. As a token of India's participation, the Government of India, arranged the translation of Rizal's famous poem—*Mi Ultimo Adios,* written on the eve of his execution, into various Indian languages including Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Bengali and others. The translations were published in journals and anthologies.

Under a special Presidential Proclamation, President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared the year 1969 as the Gandhi Centenary Year in the Philippines. A National Committee headed by Dr. Carlos P. Romulo arranged a countrywide programme that included symposia, seminars, essay contests and publication of essays on the life and works of Mahatma Gandhi. Famous Filipino writer, Andres Cristobal Cruz translated Mahatma Gandhi's book—ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS into Pilipino—the Philippine national language.

In 1969, scholar-statesmen Carlos P. Romulo visited India and delivered the 1969 Azad Memorial Lectures on Contemporary Nationalism and World Order. It was during this visit that he also signed a Cultural Agreement with India.

While here, he was conferred an honorary degree by Delhi University.

The visits of various dignitaries have greatly served to strengthen mutual understanding between the Philippines and other countries and have led to appreciation of one another's viewpoint. This, in turn, has enhanced cooperation on many areas, not the least of which are those of culture and education.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Vice-President, paid a brief visit to Manila in 1959. He conferred with the officials of all major universities in Metro Manila and spoke before the faculty and students of the University of the Philippines.

Then Philippine Vice-President Diosdado Macapagal reciprocated by visiting India in 1960.

In 1971, Philippine First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos paid an official visit to India, which eventually gave new impetus to Philippine-Indian cultural relations. Upon her invitation, several Indian artists have performed at the Cultural Center of the Philippines.

These are but a few instances of continuous cultural contacts between the Philippines and India. Limitation of space does not permit discussions of other areas like exchanges of books and publications, work of private individual organizations, role of international organizations in the promotion of cultural relations between India and the Philippines. For instance, there are a large number of Indian nationals on the staff of various UN

agencies stationed in Manila including the Asian Development Bank. They are highly skilled and cultured people. In their own way they have greatly contributed to the strengthening of Philippine-India cultural bonds.

The role of the Indian community in the Philippine in the development of India-Philippine relations deserves a separate study. Many of them have now acquired Filipino citizenship under the liberalized naturalization policy initiated by President Marcos. This article is, only a passing review of the complex relations.

To sum up, the Philippines and India are no longer strangers to each other. The indifference and reluctance generated by the long years of colonial dominance have given way to a genuine feeling of concern and a deeply felt desire of the two countries to know each other better, to benefit from each other's experience and to exchange knowledge and skill for mutual benefit. There is a great reservoir of goodwill in both countries to strengthen not only cultural but trade and economic cooperation as well. The foundation for continuous cooperation between the two countries have been laid down over the past three decades and, as time passes, India and the Philippines are bound to be even closer to each other.

INDIA AND SINGAPORE

K. D. BAJPAI

SINGAPORE, located at the southernmost end of the Malaya archipelago (ancient Malayadesa), was known as Simhapura in the past. The literary sources tend to indicate that by about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the maritime route to Malaya had been known to Indians. The Buddhist Jatakas and the Pali work *Niddesa* testify to this. The Chinese work *Ch'ien Han Shu* (Chapter 28) furnishes an interesting itinerary between the Indian Ocean and China during the reign of the Chinese emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.).

The earliest Indianised state in Indo-China was that of Fu-nan. According to the tradition it was established by Kaundinya, a Brahmana probably from the South. Dr. P. C. Bagchi thought that the word 'Fu-nan' implied *Brahma*. He pointed out to the fact that the ancient rulers of Fu-nan were called Brahma-Kumaras in some old Thai works. The word 'Fu-nan', therefore, represented *Brahma desa*.[1]

Remnants of ancient Malaya race are known from several islands of South-East Asia. Prof. R. C. Majumdar has tried to show that the Malaya race originated in India, where, according to him, the Malaya-Malava tribe was widely spread.[2]

The well-known work *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* gives some interesting account of ancient Malaya's contacts with India. According to it, large ships called 'Colandia' crossed the Indian Ocean from India's eastern coast to reach the 'golden land of Chiyse' (*Svarnadvipa* and *Svarnabhumi*). When the maritime activities of Indians increased, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean became like a highway for the people of this country for going to South-East Asian countries. During the Gupta period we notice the same position in case of the Arabian Sea (*Ratnakara* or *Paschima Payodhi*).

Singapore formed one of the chief connecting links between the two great and prosperous countries of ancient world, *viz.* India and China. With Malaya, including Singapore, the early Indian contacts were commercial. Later on the ideas of conquest of new lands and spread of socio-religious thought in those lands

gained ground. At the early stage, Indian merchants were lured by gold, spices and other products of Indo-China.

In the Singapore area during the pre- and proto-historic periods, the Negrite speeches were current. These dialects were in course of time replaced by the Mon-Khmer languages. Eventually Sanskrit became the language *par excellence* of the entire area.

The first Indian settlements in the area of Singapore and in the region around were founded by merchants. Later on Kshatriyas and the Brahmana priests followed suit. The original trade-centres in the region under review, like other parts of Indo-China, became small or big Indian habitations, where various facets of Indian culture developed.

Here it may be pointed out that for a long time Indians did not have any idea of carving out their political principalities or colonies in South-east Asia. As a matter of fact, we do not find any literary or archaeological evidence to show that there were any political connections between the mainland of India and the regions of South-east Asia.

Gradually the socio-religious impact of Indian culture was established by the end of the 3rd century A.D. in Malaya, Singapore, lower Burma, the Menam valley in Thailand, Cambodia and Champa. The *Varnasrama dharma,* the pivot of Hindu social organisation, and the Vedic-Puranic and Buddhist religions were adopted by the people of those lands. Similarly, the Brahmi script and Sanskrit language gained a firm ground there. In the case of art-styles in the field of architecture and sculpture, the Gupta and Pala styles, along with those of the Vengi and Kanchi regions in the South had their abiding impact. The numerous art-relics, still preserved in several countries of South-east Asia, bear an eloquent testimony to this fact.

Mention should be made here of the two chief land-routes between India and the South-eastern lands. The first route passed through Singapore to the easternmost limits of Indo-China and also joined the group of *Suvarnadvipa* islands. The other route went to the port of Takkol and after crossing the hill range opened in the wide fertile land around the Bay of Bandon.

The northern part of Malaya peninsula up to the Isthmus of KRA remained a political part of ancient Siam. The southern Malaya, including Singapore, was like the tongue of the land.

On one side of it was the Bay of Bengal (*Mahodadhi*), while on the other side was the China sea. Ancient Indian literature, including the Buddhist and Jaina works, gives interesting accounts of Indian merchants sailing from Tamralipti (Tamluk) to Paloura (near Gopalpur in Orissa) and then proceeding to Suvarnabhumi.

Ptolemy in his *Geography* (2nd Century A.D.) mentions Takkola (Modern Takua-Pa) as the first important mart in Malaya Peninsula. The Chinese records call it 'Teukiu-li'. The place is mentioned in the *Niddesa* and in the *Milinda Panho*. In the Chinese *History of the Liang Dynasty* (502-56 A.D.) there is a reference to an Indian Kingdom in the Malaya region. It is mentioned as *Lang ya-Su*. The Javanese and Malaya chronicles call it '*Lankasuka*'. It lay across the Malaya peninsula, touching both the Bay of Bengal and the gulf of Siam, thus controlling the shortest trade-route to east.[3]

The archaeological remains in the region under survey have clearly shown the influence of Indian religion and fine arts. Apart from the fact that the local traits, coming down from the pre- and proto-historic times, continued to play their role in the ancient culture of Singapore and the contiguous regions, the Indian influence was clearly discernible in the material and spiritual life of those lands. The stone relics found at Kedah, Takua-Pa (ancient Takkol) and in the Welesely province show that the Vedic-Puranic religion was predominant there during the Gupta and the early Medieval periods. The sculptures discovered there represent Vishnu, Siva, Brahma, Ganesa and other Hindu deities. The Buddhist shrines and images, mostly found in the Welesely province, indicate the popularity of Buddhism in that area.

The Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Malaya archipelago are numerous. The earliest of these go back to c. 400 A.D. The most important inscription of these refers to a chief of sailors (*mahanavika*) Buddhagupta, who is called a resident of Raktamrittika (present Rangamati in the Murshidabad district of Bengal). The recent excavations conducted by the University of Calcutta at a site called Rajbadi-danga have brought to light several inscribed clay sealings referring to the great Buddhist monastery of Raktamrittika, which was located near the site of the excavations. One metal *dharmachakra* has also been unearthed there. The worship of such Buddhist *dharmachakras* was current at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and several other ancient sites in India. It was introduced in South-East Asia also.[4]

The inscription of Buddhagupta in the Welesely province of Malaya shows that sailors from Bengal used to visit Malaya in large numbers during the Gupta period.

One carnalian seal found at Kuala-Selinsing in Perak bears the name of a Hindu prince Sri Vishnuvarma written in the Brahmi characters of the 5th century A.D. Several clay tablets giving the Buddhist creed (ye *dharma hetuprabhava, etc.*) have been discovered in Malaya. An important Buddhist colony in that region was that of Nakhou Sri Dharmarata. The inhabitants of the area caused the construction of a great *stupa* and parts of about 50 temples.[5] During the rule of the Sailendra dynasty (750-850 A.D.) a remarkable unity, both in the political and cultural fields, was achieved in South-East Asia.

In the 7th Century A.D. Malaya (or Malayu) was also known as *Sri Bhoja.* This is borne out by the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who went from China to Sri Bhoja.[6]

Marco Polo in 1292 A.D. travelled by the passage between Tenassarim and the Malaya Peninsula. H. Yule has pointed out that this traveller passed through Singapore.[7]

As late as the time of Albuqurque 'Malayo' was the name given to Palembang by the Javanese.

Notes

1. P.C. Bagchi quoted by K.K. Sarcar in *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts*, Visvabharati, 1968, p. 4.

2. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonisation in South-East Asia*, p. 2 ff. and 29 ff.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit*, p. 30.

4. For details, see S.R. Das, Archaeological Discoveries from Murshidabad, Calcutta, pp. 36-7.

5. R.C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.* p. 31.

6. Amarnath Das, India and Jambu Island, Calcutta, 1931.

7. Yule, Marco Polo, II (iii), ch. 7.

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21. ———— . The Malayas, A Cultural History, Singapore, 1947.
22. Bajpai, K. D. . Prachina Bharata Ka Videson Se Sambandha (in Hindi), Indore, 1973.
23. Yule, H . Marco Polo, Vol. II book III, ch. 7.

INDIA AND THAILAND

B. N. PURI

FORMERLY known as Siam, the present country of Thailand, about 2000 kilometres long and 800 kilometres broad at its greatest width is situated in the midst of countries comprising peoples of different racial origins. It includes four widely separated divisions—the northern one covering an area larger than Ireland, the central one formed by the valley of the Meenam, the north-eastern one forming a large plateau, and finally the Thai portion of the Malay Peninsula—rather Malaysia—in the South. This clear-cut division of the country is reminiscent of the peoples of different origin living in those areas. The northern one was colonised by the Mon people of Central Thailand from the eighth century onwards and was considerably influenced by Indian cultural traditions and values which penetrated from there into the Shan States and upper Burma at a later time. The northern portion although vulnerable to Chinese influence from Western Yunnan does not betray it. Even some Chinese influence perceptible in the sloping carpet like roofing design in temple architecture seems to be comparatively late. Central Thailand was of course influenced at a much earlier period from Amaravati in India, and later on from the east, by the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia, and lastly by the Thai of the north-central region of Sawank'alok and Sukhotai. The north-eastern portion of Thailand formerly formed part of the Hinduised kingdom of Funan, and later on it was under the sway of the Khmer rulers, till its submission to the Thai who named this country after them. The southern part of Thailand was open to direct communication with India. It was first influenced by a wave of the Pallavan culture from South-East India. Later on it formed part of the Sri-Vijaya kingdom. There was still another Indian wave, this time from Bengal and Kalinga—the north-eastern part of India—in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Hinayana Buddhist influence from Ceylon in the thirteenth century A.D. finally added to the flow of the cultural influences from India and Ceylon which continues to exist even to this day in the form of Buddhism as the State religion.

History

The Thai first entered the history of South-east Asia in the eleventh century A.D. They are noticed in the list of prisoners

of different countries in the Champa inscriptions, along with Chinese, Cambodians and Burmese. In the twelfth century, the bas-reliefs of Angkorvat depict in the great procession of warriors —some soldiers in an entirely different costume—who are identified in two short inscriptions as those of Syam. They were probably Thai of the Middle Meenam valley—of the kingdom of Sukhothai. This kingdom is mentioned for the first time as 'Sien' in the 'History of the Yuan' in connection with an embassy of 1282 sent by sea to China but was intercepted by the Chams. The rapid success of the Thai in the Meenam Basin was the result of the weakening of Cambodia and also of the decline and fall of Burmese power under pressure from the Mongols.

In fact, the history of the Thais in Siam (modern Thailand) may be briefly described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively. It is recorded in annals—which have to be used with caution—and in a number of inscriptions of various rulers. The early history of Sukhothai and its kings is not disputed. The names of the kingdom as well as its supposed founder appear to be Indian. The land of Sukhothai, corresponding to Sanskrit Sukhodaya, was supposed to bestow happiness, while the Ruler considered to be its founder or the first king was Rama Khomheng—also called Ramaraja. An important inscription from Sukhothai, now in the Bangkok Museum, probably composed about 1300 A.D. gives an account of his kingdom which extended to the banks of the Mekong and beyond it to Chaya, perhaps identical with Luang Prabang, on the south to the sea as far as Sri Dharmaraja or Ligor, and on the west to Hamsavati or Pegu. The king is also recorded to have invented a script which finally developed into the modern Siamese or Thai script. The vocabulary of the language used was a mixture of Thai, Khmer and some borrowed from Malayese, and ecclesiastical and learned terms of Pali and Sanskrit. The Court and the people of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists, as might be evident from the statues of the Buddha set up in the city, and scenes carved in relief in large monasteries. The form of Buddhism seems to have differed little from the Hinayana form, now prevalent in Thailand. It is likely that the Thai when they entered this part of Indo-China brought with them some form of Buddhism. Hinduism—no doubt—dominated this region when this was part of Khmer empire whose rulers were votaries of Saivism, and they were also instrumental in providing Mahayanist Sanskrit Buddhism in the earlier period.

Southern Thailand from early times was to some extent affected by another wave of Buddhism through Malaysia. An

inscription from Ligor, formerly known as Sri Dharmaraja, refers to Hindu (probably Buddhist) settlements as early as the fourth century A.D. It was from Ligor that a learned monk was brought to Thailand, as is recorded in the Sukhothai record. Burma also provided the source for Buddhist activities and later on Thailand recognised the authority of Sinhalese Church. A Khmer inscription of Sri Suryavamsa Rama composed in 1361, records the academic achievements of this monarch who had studied the Tripitaka, the Vedas, the Sastragama and Dharmanyaya and set up images of Mahesvara, Vishnu, as well as of the Buddha. In that year he sent a messenger to Ceylon to invite a head of the Buddhist order learned to the Pitakas. The arrival of Sangharaja was a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Thailand. Two other inscriptions relate to a sapling of the Bodhi tree and also certain relics being installed with great solemnity. This great king Suryavamsa equally maintained contacts with India, Kambuja and China. He was also a keen student of India literature.

In 1350, a descendant of an ancient time of Thai princes, founded Ayuthia as a rival to Sukhothai. This site was earlier known as Dvaravati and also noticed by I-tsing (c. 680 A.D.). Inscriptional evidence suggests that Sukhothai continued to be a royal residence for some time, but in the fifteenth century Ayuthia gradually became predominant. Buddhism continued to be the dominating religious force, but an interesting inscription engraved on an image of Siva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts the identity of Buddhism and Saivism. The identity of the two Indian religions, particularly in the context of the Buddha being accepted as a god in the Hindu trinity, was widely prevalent and accepted in ancient South-eastern countries, particularly Kambuja and Champa.

The second capital Ayuthia continued to be the metropolis until 1767 when it was laid in ruins by the Burmese who defaced its temples and destroyed the city. A leader of Chinese origin named Phaya Taksin rallied Thai forces and cleared the Burmese out of the country and made Bangkok the seat of the Government. A new dynasty of rulers was founded in 1782 by Chao Phaya Chakkri which has continued till the abolition of monarchy in Thailand.

Reference might as well be made to a work *Jinakalamalini* written by a Buddhist monk in 1516 which mentions the capture of the city of Lavo (Lopburi) by a chieftain from Nakon Sri-

tammarat in Malaysia. This was done when its ruler was contending against another enemy from Haripunjaya (Lampun) in the north of Siam. The latter is identified with Suryavarman I, who is first known from the Khmer inscriptions from Lopburi dated in the early 11th century A.D. Lopburi was then a part of the Khmer empire. The name of the ruler, who was defeated by the Khmer invader was Uchchitta-Chakkavati-Skt. Uchhitta Chakravarti—definitely an Indian name. The entire history of Thailand is one of mingling of different races and it is difficult to ascertain the extent of Indian influence in the local population. It is, however, closely perceptible in the realms of religion and art which are so closely interlinked together.

Earliest Finds and Indian Influence

The most ancient objects found in Thailand are from a village called Pong Tuk where excavations have revealed the base of a sanctuary, representing a temple just over 80 feet long and 47 feet broad. The finds in this area include a Graeco-Roman land of Pompeian style in the form of a bird's body which must have been possibly left by some unknown Greek or Roman trader. It is placed in the first century A.D. The next object of earliest time is a small bronze statue of the Buddha in the Amaravati style, supposed to be of the second century A.D. A similar statue was found at Korat in North-eastern Siam, and now in the National Museum, which also betrays Greek influence in the folds of the drapery. These images are considered to be of Indian make. Several small bronze images possibly of local make are in Gupta style with stiff drapery and conventional treatment of the body and might be dated not later than the sixth century A.D. It is proposed that the Pong-Tuk sanctuary similar to the one from the Anuradhapura was subject to a common influence from Amaravati. Several other objects from this site, and undeniably of Indian make, include pottery jars. Besides these, several bronze images of the Buddha of unknown provenance clearly suggest that they were the work of Indian artists who came to Thailand from India or those objects were brought by Indian colonists.

The Dvaravati Period

The Dvaravati period representing the Mon-Indian school is represented by the architectural and sculptural remains that have been brought to light from the ancient sites of Dvaravati, Sri-Vijaya and Lavo (Lopburi). Inscriptions connected with the history of these kingdoms have also been recorded and published. The city of Lopburi—128 kilometres north of Bangkok—was

formerly known as Lavo and is one of the oldest sites in central Thailand. Its most ancient standing monuments do not belong to the pre-Khmer period, that is before A.D. 1000, but in the temple of Maha-Tat, in the heart of the city and in the surrounding neighbourhood, standing images of the Buddha have been found which belong to an earlier period. One such statue bears an inscription analogous to that noticed on the most ancient records from Cambodia before the establishment of Angkor as the capital at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Another statue with a mutilated inscription and certain pillars have also been found. These images and sculptures from Lopburi and Prapaton with the spiral curls of the hair, the elliptical form of the face, the prominent bulging upper lids, the lightly outlived eye-brows, the modelling of the torso, with the sexless body under a fine diaphanous cloth, are very similar in the general appearance to the Indian statues of the Gupta period. Several statues of these types—included in the term pre-Khmer—have also been found elsewhere at Ayudhya and elsewhere in Central Siam, in the standing as well as in the seated European fashion. The late Gupta influence might be the outcome of indirect influence through Cambodia or Funan from the east, or through the Hinduised states of Malaysia. It is, however, proposed by Reginald le May that the Buddhist statuary of Dvaravati is very similar to the primitive sculpture found in Cambodia, of which some magnificent specimens have been discovered near Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia. The transformation of the Gupta spirit into a Funan body might have been the outcome of the efforts of local artists who were inspired by the Buddhist ideals and devotion to the Tathagata. According to the History of Liang, Funan itself received its Hinduised art and culture from the state of Pan-Pan which is considered to be situated in the region of Nakon Sritammarat and the Bay of Bandon, and there was a definite cultural link between Funan, Dvaravati and the Hindu states of Malaysia where the statutes of the Buddha of the Gupta prototype have been found.

The next school of Thailand is associated with Sri-Vijaya which was connnected with Palambong in Sumatra and had extensive boundaries. This state was supplanted in the eighth century A.D. by the powerful kingdom called Javaka under a Mahayanist dynasty of Sailendras with their capital at a place called Jaya in the Thai portion of the Malaysia on the Bay of Bandon. This place also inspired the Javanese sculptors. The sculptures associated with the Hindu-Javanese school produced Brahmanical images of Vishnu along with those of the Buddha

and Bodhisattva. The Lokesvara's image in grey-black stone is a fine piece of modelling and seen to be akin to Pala sculpture of the same period. The Brahmanical figures are considered to be fairly close to the Pallava style of Southern India. The Funan and Khmer period in the history of Siam (Thailand), resulting in the domination over Central Siam *viz* the valley of the Meenam with its chief centre at Lopburi, contributed to the production of Brahmanical and Buddhist images—including an image of Ardhanarisvara—Siva and Uma united in one form in sandstone, with the ears and head dress very near to their Indian prototypes. The temples of Pravihara, Panam-Rung and Muang-Tam are clearly Brahmanical in character. Many images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva have also been found. Besides using sandstone, the artists did not ignore bronze in the making of smaller images.

Indian Cultural Traditions

The coming of the Thai or the Siamese did not snap Indian cultural traditions, directly or indirectly imported into their country. On the other hand, we find great influence being exerted in the realms of religion and art through Burma and Ceylon. Meng Rai in the north and Ram Kambeng in the south were ardent Thai Buddhists. The former had visited Pagan in Burma and had set up several Buddhist temples. Ram Kambeng was the first Thai King who had uprooted Khmer's suzerainty over Thailand. Under them the schools of Sukhotai and Ayudhya were founded. Rocharaja (Indraditya) introduced the new style of Buddha image, while his son Ram Kambeng invited the famous priest Sangharaja, the famous Sinhalese Theravadin, at Nakhon Srikammrat to take up his residence at Sukhotai. The temples of Rajatani and Prachum Pon have remarkable images of the Buddha in bronze, of several periods chiefly Sukhotai, U-Tong and Ayudhya. A detailed account of the sculptures might be out of place here in this context.

In a general survey of India's relations with Thailand formerly known as Siam, one has first to take into account its geographical location which made its direct contact with India rather impossible except through an intermediary country. This was provided either through Burma or Malaya Peninsula or Funan which was the first to get Indian immigrants—which included traders, preachers and banished princes. They brought with them Indian cultural traditions which were safely planted there. Thailand too had its share. It no doubt had to bear the brunt of Funan—Khmer occupation which it threw off in the 13th century. Buddhism, and Buddhist and Brahmanical art thrived in Thailand

and we find traces of Gupta, Pala and Pallava art traditions in the sculptures of Thailand. The names of the kingdoms associated with cities like, Lavapuri, Sukhodaya, Dvaravati, Haripunyayapura and Ayudhya are all Indian and so also the names of rulers of Thai origin. The Siamese records are also in Brahmin script. All these point to a greater degree of Indian cultural contacts with Thailand which have lasted for much longer period than with any other South-East Asian country which finally went over to colonial rule and domination from the seventeenth century onwards. The living monuments and sculptures preserved in the National Museum at Bangkok and elsewhere bear eloquent testimony to the age-old contact between the two countries.

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MGIPF—306 Edu./79—7-1-80—800

Publication No. 123

PED. 529
800—1979 (DSK. II)

Price : Foreign £ 0.98 or $ 3.92 Cents.
Inland Rs. 8.40 p

PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, FARIDAB
AND PUBLISHED BY THE CONTROLLER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 198

OUR CULTURAL FABRIC

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stry of Education and Culture Government of India

Publication Number 1314

OUR CULTURAL FABRIC

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE THROUGH THE AGES

Ministry of Education and Culture
Government of India
1982

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PREFACE

India provides ample illustration of all types of artistic activities aiming at a uniform level of spiritual curiosity and artistic devotion. The Vedic mounds of the pre-Mauryan period, the Buddhist art in Asoka's pillars and the Islamic architecture of the mosques represent a synthesis and fusion of Indian Culture. The present day architecture, however, owes its allegiance to the training and background in western standards and is comparatively a recent phenomenon dating back to independence.

This booklet is devoted to a few forms of Indian architecture dating back to Vedic times. The well known forms discussed in this booklet are the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Islamic as well as the modern trends in this sphere.

We are grateful to the contributors to this issue who are specialists in their fields and have lent to this work the benefit of their scholarship.

P. N. CHOPRA
Editor

HINDU ART AND ARCHITECTURE-- AN APPRAISAL

B. N. Puri

Art symbolises man's effort to provide a concrete outlet to his inner feelings. It is religious when the attempt is directed to create a representation of the God—a receptable of the divine spirit with a view to establish relations with that One. In his endeavour to propitiate the deity man introduces ornamental elements for decoration and elaboration of his deity's power and prestige, as also symbolising his faith and devotion. Art, therefore, is primarily religious in character, but it also caters to the secular needs of man—his habitation with a touch of aesthetic taste. Patterns evolved with experiments on religious and secular planes take the form of canons or laws of architecture. These in course of time become traditional. As such, ornamentation of the deity based on his iconographic features is also standardised in course of time. Further, local influences or foreign impacts stimulate artistic activity, and the process continues with the contribution of different ethnic elements and on a wider scale in different regions.

The field of art, is, however, wide with its three main planks—architecture, sculpture and painting. The term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal providing sensations in three different ways—by the treatment of walls, proportions of windows, the relation of wall-space to window space of one storey to another, the treament of the exterior of the building with the rythm of projections and recensions, and the treatment of the interior. The good architect also needs the help of the sculptor as well as the painter, whenever necessary. The former freezes his emotion in stone or metal, in the walls of the temple, in its interior, and also carves out independent pieces in the round as well as in the intaglio. Painting is a more tender art with the use of colour and brush on the walls as fresco or tempera or as independent pieces.

Artist's anonymity

Hindu India provides examples and illustrations of all the three types of artistic activities, aiming at uniform level of spiritual curiosity and artistic devotion. An interesting feature

of Indian art is the artist's anonymity, anxious to merge his personality with the God or the object of his work. He sublimes himself into a higher being, spiritually, not materially, symbolising the mystic transcendence of the sublime and the noble. The study of this art in its various facets can be undertaken in historical and regional forms from the period of the Indus valley civilization of the Pre-Aryan times to the temples of the twelfth century A.D., and from the art of Gandhara in the extreme northwest to that under the Pallavas and the Cholas in the South. The Indus civilization does not provide any temples being erected in that area or within its periphery. The lay-out of the city suggests a high degree of civic sense, with well-laid out broad streets and houses in close alignment in another direction. There is, however, nothing of aesthetic sense in any of these designs and structures.

The Mauryan Phase

Vedic mounds—the precursors of the stupas of the Buddhists have some claim for an earlier dating. The well known mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar, containing deposits of human bones and charcoal with a small goldleaf with the figure of a female—supposed to be Mother goddess impressed on it, are the solitary examples of Pre-Mauryan architecture. The cyclopean walls and remains of dwellings in the old city of Rajagriha in Bihar could also be classed as Pre-Mauryan. The royal architecture of the Mauryan times, confined to the ornamental buildings, was mainly of timber. The remains of the burnt—pillared hall from Pataliputra (Patna) suggest its large dimensions and symmetrical planning. It is suggested that even Susa and Ecbatana could not vie the beauty and grandeur of the Mauryan palace. The greater achievement of this period was in the sphere of sculpture with well-chiselled stone pillars containing ornamental sculptured abacus and the crowning symbol at the top. Stupas were also set up in this period, and the cave temple architecture also had its beginning with a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar hills in Bihar.

Sunga-Andhra Art

The Sunga period (2nd century B.C.) envinces changes in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art noted for its mass and dimensions on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other takes a democratic shape and turn with the participation and contribution of the people in artistic activities. The religious aspect underlying these works of

art does not overshadow or undermine the social aspect of it, with the introduction of human elements—men, women and children, gay and cheerful, participating in it. Art in a way serves as a mirror of social life from this period onwards. It equally expresses and exposes the Indian mind in evolving iconographic concepts of divinities, demi-gods and goddesses and the heavenly nymphs. The famous stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi railings at Bodhgaya—the Besnagar column, Mathura images and rock-cut architecture in Orissa and in Maharashtra at a grand scale are the contributions of the Sunga-Andhra period. The famous stupa at Sanchi with its 60 feet diameter at the base, on a raised terrace with stairs, surrounded by railings with gateways at all the four sides is the best architectural specimen of this period. Each gateway with its two pillars standing upright with its three architraves or stone beams on both the sides, and a crowning symbol are flooded with Jataka scenes carved on them. The hanging yakshis supporting these stone beams are equally notable. The cave temple architecture—with chambers carved out of the rock serving as cellular retreats like the viharas for the Buddhist monks in Western Ghats area represent another form of artistitc and architectural activity, rather unparalleled.

Gandhara School

While the artists were engaged in creative activities, catering to the needs of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, in the North-west, the influx of Greeks and other foreigners before the Christian era inspired and stimulated the growth of another school, popularly known as Gandhara School of art. It is also called Graeco-Buddhist with the converted Greeks and others to Buddhism displaying their artistic talents in the services of the Tathagata (Buddha) whose figure was first portrayed by them. Some Hindu divinites like Shiva and Amba also find a place, rather rarely, in this school of art. On the architectural plane, Gandhara is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs and animal motifs in decoration. Stupas and viharas were ornamented with these designs. Now the ground plan of ancient models of Gandhara architecture, stone capitals and pillars are the solitary remains of the once existing munificent structures. The Cornithian columns, pilasters and capitals are, however, modified, and the introduction of the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattva into the foliage is a new feature suggesting Indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also introduced in architectural designs.

Mathura Art

Contemporary with the school of Gandhara was that at Mathura—both enjoying the patronage of the Kushna rulers. While the first century and a half of the Christian era represents the most critical period in the history of art in India, the second to the fourth century is that of highest achievement. The prolific school of Mathura is of primary importance for evolving the types that could be traced at all times. The so-called Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period (4th century—6th century) does not represent a reaction but rather the flowering and culmination of the previous experiment under the Kushanas. The figure of the Buddha, formerly represented by the symbols under the Sungas, was evolved very probably at the same time in Mathura as in Gandhara. Others—Buddhist divinities—Bodhisattavas, Jain Tirthankaras and even Hindu gods are also presented in Mathura art along with secular scene carved out on pillar jambs and doorways. The reliefs of Amravati in the south, dating from the early second century A.D. and later, adorning the great stupa with the largest and most richly decorated stone railing ever constructed, surrounding it, also provide an interesting study of the art under the Andhras. The subject matter of the reliefs is the life of the Buddha in his previous births as portrayed in the Jatakas.

Culmination of Art under the Guptas

The Gupta period represents the efflorescence of Indian art in all its facets. The spirit is no doubt at the height of its vitality, but maturer, more intellectually conscious, and more introspective with the expression prominent but less reserved. The Gupta art is sophisticated, gracious and sublime. The early phase represents a unified national style embodying the types which influenced later on the south eastern and far eastern developments in the realms of architecture and iconographic details. Thus, the Gupta style is unmistakably recognizable in the sculpture and architecture in Burma, Siam and Cambodia between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. The Buddha figure of the Gupta period is notable for definition and refinement with the diaphanous robe covering one or both the shoulders, hair invariably arranged in short curls, and *ushnisha* or head dress indicated as a cranial protuberance. The finest examples have been found at Sarnath and Mathura and in relief at Ajanta. A colossal copper figure from Sultanganj in U.P. weighing more than a ton is now in the Birmingham Museum. Brahmanical sculptures of this period include the Mukhalingas (Shiva) of

admirable workmanship, reliefs of Vishnu, Narasimha and Durga, and the magnificent Boar incarnation (Varahavatara) at Udaigiri, Ramayana scenes from the basement of the late Gupta temple at Deograh and sculptures of the Ramesvara cave, Ellora. The famous paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, on the walls of excavated Buddhist cave temples also belong for the most part to this period. The subjects of all are Buddhist, representing Jataka scenes.

Temple Architecture

The Gupta period is equally notable for brick temple architecture. Its chief features are a square sanctum with a flat roof, plain interior, dressed stone mansonry finally set without the use of mortar, a raised plinth divided into squares. The sanctum cella (*Garbhagriha*) has an exquisitely carved doorway decorated with foliage pattern, human figures, and those of Ganga and Yamuna occupying the upper corners of the jambs. A shallow porch in front of the richly carved doorway is later on developed into a pillared portico. The doorway leading to the sanctum served as a decorative outer frame with the image of the deity installed in the cella. The Gupta temples now number less than dozen and are all clustered in Jhansi (U.P.) and Madhya Pradesh. The famous Brick temple from Bhitargaon (Kanpur dist.) with its several courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks, designed beautifully are in various forms like inverted lotus petal, rosettes, interlocked chain and scroll, provide an interesting example of artistic blending of the two facets of art in a single monument. The moulding designs at the basement and the pyramidal sikhara and vertical bands forming the facade and the earliest form of true arch are the main features of this temple. The carvings of the sculpture, the pillars with their capitals of the vase and foliage (*purna kalasa*) pattern, and the doorway are of the typical Gupta style.

The flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period, continuing the traditions of the earlier stupas and rock-cut caves mark the beginning of a new architectural set-up which lasted for more than four hundred years. The Indo-Aryan temple type, popularly called Nagara was shaped in this period, clearly distinguishing itself from the southern one. An era of temple building activity followed with intensity and concentration, of course, marked with regional differences and disparities. These were more prominent in the temples of Central India and those in Orissa. Generally known by the name of Nagara, the North

Indian temples, distinguished from those of the South known as Dravida, and of the Deccan, called *vesara,* have horizontal tiers in the exterior form and circular plan of the sanctuary (*vimana*). The surmounting part is known as *sikhara* which is pointed in these temples. The essential plan includes the inner chamber (*garbhagriha*) for the divine image, the pavilion or *mandapa* for the assembly of the devotees and the *antarala*—a vestibule connecting the *vimana* and the *mandapa,* and the circumbulatory passage (*pradakshina patha*) around the sanctum.

Orissan Temples

The Orissan temples form a compact and homogenous architectural group. The temple building activity in this part reached its culmination in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The temple here have a common structural plan with two apartments. The *deul* enshrines the image and is surmounted by a tower. The antarala or porch in front of this is known as the *Jagamohan.* It is usually square-shaped and has a pyramidal roof. Sometimes one or two more *mandapas* are added in the same alignment in front of the *Jagamohan.* These are the *natamandir* or dancing hall and the *bhogamandir* or the dining hall for the deity. Among the Orissan temples the Lingaraja at Bhuvaneshwar is acclaimed as the finest example of Hindu temple architecture. The famous Sun temple at Konarak, about 32 Km. north-east of Puri was constructed in the time of Narasimhadeva (1238—64) when the Orissan temple building activity was at its apex. The structure as a whole is conceived of as a chariot (ratha) on 24 wheels with the god Sun riding on it. The sculpture embellishing the immense outer surface has a charm of its own with fantastic human and animal forms carved in stone.

Khajuraho Temples

In Central India, the Khajuraho group of temples built between 950 and 1050 AD, numbering now only 20 out of the original 85 are masterpieces of Indian temple architecture with a blending of aesthetic talent and devotion. These free standing temples present an architectural synthesis with graceful proportions and ground surface decoration. The three compartments in the temples—the sanctum proper (*garbhagriha*), the reception centre (*mandala*) and the entrance portico (*ardha mandapa*) are arranged in a crucifix manner. The notable architectural features are a number of vertical projections with the range of open porches and overhanging caves running horizontally

around the temple for providing light inside. The exterior is decorated with parallel friezes in high relief.

Temples in Western and Southern India

The temples in Western and Southern India have certain peculiarities symbolical of this regional differences. While the Northern temples are marked by the curvilinear *sikhara,* the Southern ones have a terraced pyramidal tower, of which the dome is called the *sikhara.* The temples in the central zone called Deccan combine both types and are described in the silpasastras as vesara. Among these may be mentioned the famous Laakhan temple at Aihole (c. 450 A.D.). Among the Chalukyan temples the earlier ones are in brick dating before A.D. 600. Besides Aihole, such temples are at Badami and Pattadakal. The great Virupaksha temple dedicated to Shiva as Lokesvara by the queen of Vikrmaditya II (c. 740 A. D.) is supposed to be the work of the mason from Kanchipuram in the south. The square *sikhara* consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. Chaitya window motifs are in great use.

The building activity in the Deccan culminated in the rock-cut shrines and temples at Ajanta, Ellora and also at Aurangabad. The Brahmanical caves at Ellora date from the early Chalukyan period. The Kailasa temple at Ellora was carved out of rock in the time of Krishna II. This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple. It consists of a *linga* shrines with Dravidian *sikhara,* a flat-roofed *mandapam* supported by sixteen pillars with a separate porch for the sacred bull (Nardi). The courtyard of the temple is entered through a low *gopuram* or gateway with detached shrines on the edge of the perambulation terrace of the vimana proper. There are two *dhvaja-stambhas* or pillars bearing emblems. The temple is decorated with some of the boldest and finest sculpture compositions, the most important being the demon god Ravana shaking the Kailasa. This is a common theme noticed elsewhere as well. The Shaiva shrine at Elephanta, near Bombay, is an underground excavation with the famous Trimurti—representing Shiva in his creative, preservative and destructive forms.

South-Indian Temples

The temples in Southern India form a class by themselves. The earlier ones of the Pallava styles are associated with different rulers from the sixth to the early ninth century. The famous *rathas*—chariots at Mammalipuram (Mahabali--

puram) seem to have been executed early in the seventh century. They are fashioned after the vihara or monastery, square or oblong in plan and pyramidal in elevation. The multi-storeyed structure with its barred roof might have been the precursor of the great Dravidian gopurams of six centuries later. The temples of the Chola Period (900—1150 AD) are best represented by the Brihadeswara one at Tanjore which is earlier than the other at Gangai-Konda—Chola Puram. The treatment of the exterior is simple with the tower or *vimana* being about 45 metres high which elsewhere under Rajaraja, the great (985—1018) reaches to a height of 180 metres. At the base, horizontal sections with massive cornices and a range of plasters running each of the storeyes provide a vertical but proportionate effect to this architectural piece of composition. The mass of sculpture in high reliefs in south Indian temples provides an impression of extraordinary magnificence, dynamism and great patience displayed by those who contributed towards the setting up of these temples.

Hindu Temples at Angkor Wat

A great Hindu expression beyond the confines of India is the work of those Indians who had gone to Indo-China, settled there and became the ruling class developing a high degree of civilisation from the ninth century to the thirteenth. They built great temples of which the famous Angkor Wat is the best example. Laid out on a vast scale, it stands as the focal point of a rectangular area divided into small segments. The various parts—low buildings, courts, avenues and stairways—form a long progression from the moat-protected outer walls to the inner court surmounted by porticos with cornice towers. The shrine resting on a lofty pedestal, lifts its five pagoda like pointed towers to dominate the surrounding area.

The long history of Hindu art and architecture has been one of experiments and progress with the religious theme dominating the scene everywhere. The builder and the sculptor joined hands to make the structure conform to their spiritual ideals and aspirations. Canons and rules of architecture were evolved and finally codified to provide guidelines for future architects. Enjoying royal patronage, these builders displayed their talents on a grand and massive scale. Of course, the impact of the foreigners stimulated indigenous efforts in the realm of art and architecture. It might as well be mentioned that the Buddhist and Jain art productions were not exclusive or independent of the Hindu manifestations. In fact, the Indian

artists catered to the needs of all, and besides religious themes they did not hesitate in projecting the social milieu through their works. Art served as the mirror of life. Social and religious themes of different periods and in different parts of the country were displayed, of course, with the common aim of projecting man as a part and parcel of the Infinite—the Supreme Spirit.

BUDDHIST ART

Brij Narain Sharma

The age of the Mauryan King Asoka marks the beginning of Buddhist art in India. The historic event of Kalinga war was a turning point in Asoka's career. Before this war he was a staunch believer in Vedic Brahmanism, his traditional family religion. But the horrors and miseries of Kalinga war weighed so heavily on his mind that soon after this war he turned a Buddhist, taking a solemn vow to renounce all military wars in future and launching instead an era of 'Conquest of Piety' (*Dharma-vijaya*). Chandashoka was now Dharmashoka who propagated Buddhism by all possible means not only throughout the length and breadth of his extensive empire but also in the countries outside India. Art and architecture were no exception to the various means adopted by the Mauryan emperor to fulfil the Buddhist mission of *Bahujana Hitaya Cha Bahujana Sukhaya* i.e. 'for the welfare and happiness of the majority of people. Pillars, *stupas, Chaityas, chaitya-halls* or shrines, monotihic railing around the *stupas* were among the Buddhist monuments of art belonging to the reign of Ashoka the Great who is credited to have substituted the use of stone as a material *par-excellence* for monumental art discarding such perishable materials as timber, unburnt bricks, and mud which were in vogue in the pre-Asokan days.

Asoka's pillars which number more than thirty may be classified into two categories as inscribed and uninscribed. Those on which are engraved Asoka's edicts embodying his Dictates of Law fall under the former category. To this group belong the Delhi-Meerut, Allahabad, Lauriya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Rampurva (with lion capital), Delhi-Topra, Sankissa, Sanchi, Sarnath, Rumendie and Nigalisagar columns. Of the uninscribed columns those of Rampurva (with bull capital), Basarh-Bakhira and Kosam are most important. Being chiselled out of chunar sand-stone they consist of the shaft, the capital, the bell shaped lotus, the abacus and the crowning animal seated or standing. The inscriptions on the columns are themselves notable for their beautiful writing by cutting on stone with a remarkable 'clarity, orderlines and precision'. The shaft always round and slightly tapering upwards is superimposed by a bell-shaped inverted lotus on which rests a round or

square abacus adorned with animals, vegetal figures or the Buddhist symbol of wheel. Above all are carved a single or more animals in a seated or standing posture. Sometimes the crowning animals, as in the case of Sarnath column, also carried on their back to crown all the Buddhist 'Wheel of the Law'. A lustrous polish of Asoka's columns is their most distinguishing feature. "They were so shining that English travellers like Tom Coryate and Whittaker confidently described one of them as a pillar of brass, Chaplin Terry as a pillar of marble, and Bishop Heber as cast metal."[1]

Of special interest are the animals crowning the capitals. The capitals of the Allahabad and one of the Rampurva columns are adorned with the figure of a bull. An elephant now mutilated crowns the Sankissa pillar. The pillars at Lauriya-Nandangarh, Basarh-Bakhira and another as Rampurva are surmounted by a single lion. The Lumbini pillar is said to have been marked by the crowning figure of a horse. The Lauriya-Araraj column is believed to bear once the Garuda capital. The Sanchi and Sarnath pillars are especially known for their surmounting figures of quadripartite lions seated back to back. Originally the Sarnath lions carried on their backs to crown all a stone wheel of two feet and nine inches diameter. Equally interesting is the fragment of a capital recovered from Salempur village (Mirzapur district) consisting of four bulls back to back which in the style of Sarnath lions are also "superimposed by a square block decorated with honey suckle ornaments."[2] Being chiselled out of chunar sandstone and having the polish characteristic of Asoka's monolithic columns this fragment, too, is datable to the same age. The Basarh-Bakhia column being crude and rough in its execution is regarded the first of all Asokan pillars. The Salempur, Sanchi and Sarnath pillars which have a similarly patterned capital adorned with four animals back to back are the specimens of the last stage of evolution. Of these, the capital of the Sarnath pillar is decidedly superior to those of the other two. There is a remarkable harmony between the abacus and the capital as far as the Sarnath lions are concerned. The Chinese pilgrim Yaun Chwang (7th Cen. A.D.) who had visited the sacred site of Sarnath, where Gautama Buddha had preached his first sermon after enlightenment the event reckoned as the turning of the Wheel of the Law (*Dharma-chakra-pravarttan*), observed that it was about seventy feet high, built of a stone as bright as a jade, glistened and

1. Mazumdar, R. C. (ed), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 86.
2. Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. (ed), *Age of the Nandas and Maurya* p. 361.

sparkled like light and was an object of fervent prayer by the people according to their petitions. In the words of V. A. Smith "It will be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with idealistic dignity and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy."[3]

In spite of its stylistic grandeur and majestic beauty Asoka's art cannot claim to be wholly indigenous. It owes a great deal to the Iranian and Hellenistic influences. The combination of bell capital and joined heraldic animals, the extremely lustrous finish of the stone, the stiff and heraldic character of the lions, are among the more obvious resemblences to Achaemenid Iranian and Hellenistic art. The four racing animals—an elephant, a horse, a humped bull and a lion—portrayed in the abacus of the Sarnath capital are also explained as stylistically related to Greek tradition. But this criticism of Asoka's court art as being essentially foreign and executed by the sculptors of foreign nationality is only one-sided. There are counter arguments also advanced by the art critics both Indian and foreign. As regards the bas-reliefs of four racing animals of the Sarnath abacus scholars widely differ among themselves. For instance V. A. Smith, who believes the bas-reliefs to be purely Indian, disagrees with John Marshall saying that "Sir John Marshall's conjecture that the composition may be the work of an Asiatic Greek is not supported by the style of the relief figures. The ability of an Asiatic Greek to represent Indian animals so well may be obsoleted."[4] Besides, one cannot close his eyes to the fact that the modelling of the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurva bull is typically different from that of the Sarnath quadripartite. In view of the diametrically opposed aesthettic vision and outlook represented by the two sets, the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurva bull are opined to belong to a different art tradition, distinctly Indian. But how could it be possible without there being a pre-Asokan art tradition of long standing? As suggested by famous art critic Nihar Ranjan Ray, "It is unlikely that in the Dhauli elephant, the Rampurva bull and partly with Samkissa elephant, all of which are directly Indian in feeling, appearance and spirit, we but witnessed the traditional Indian conception of these objects and the older or contemporary Indian art-style and tradition transferred into stone in terms of

3. Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (3rd edition) p. 18.

4. ibid., p. 18 .

requirements of that particular material and according to the dictates of bolder designs and bigger dimensions".[5]

Whatever one might say about the origin of Asokan art and the nationality of the artists it cannot be denied that the ideas the foreign figures are intended to express are purely Indian and may convincingly be interpreted to be Buddhist or Indian in character. For instance, the Buddhist character of the four racing beasts of the Sarnath capital, already referred to, may be understood with reference to the Pali account of the Anottaka lake in the *Paramotthijataka* account according to which the lion outlet, the elephant outlet, the horse outlet and the bull outlet, stand for the four cardinal points representing the east, west, south and north respectively. In the *Chetiya Jataka* the elephant and the lion are associated respectively with the eastern and western city-gates. The four wheels of the plinth each having 24 spokes as well as one borne by the Sarnath lions may be a lithic representation of the age old Indian theory of cosmogony and metaphysics.[6]

After Asoka's columns the *stupas* or topes which form a class by themselves constitute the next important stage in the development of Buddhist art. The tradition of building *stupas* as funeral mounds is as old as the Vedic age. Originally the Buddhist *stupas* were earthen funeral mounds raised over the relics of the Buddha, sometimes of other teachers or articles used by them contained in a reliquary which might be of crystal, gold or other material. The early *stupas* were of brick, brick and rubble and later enshrined in a masonary casing. The earliest specimens were hemispherical in shape consisting of a dome and resting on a low circular base. The pious emperor Asoka is believed to have unearthed the Buddhas relics from the original places and redistributed them throughout his vast empire. Traditionally he is credited with the erection of 84,000 *stupas*. The Dharmajika stupa at Taxila, the Nagarhar *Stupa* near Peshawar, a *stupa* at Sanchi near Bhopal and one at Sarnath near Varanasi are ascribed to him. In his Nigalisagar pillar inscription, the Buddhist emperor in his 14th regnal year claims to have doublled in size the existing stupa of Kanakamuni.

But during the age of the Sungas and the Satavahanas who were the immediate successors of the Mauryas in north central

5. Nilakanta Shastri, K A., *op. cit.* p. 377.
6. See author's article, *India's State Emblem*, published in Sainik Samachar, No. XIX, May, 1961 (New Delhi).

India and trans-Vindhya region respectively, we have concrete ideas about the *stupa* architecture and the art that flourished around the *stupas*. The stone railings and the gateways adorned with massive sculptures are the most attractive features of the post-Mauryan Buddhist art. The 'Stupa 2' at Sanchi, the Bharhut Stupa in central India (erstwhile Nagod State), a monastery at Bhaja and the railing at Bodhgaya are the most attractive architectural remains of the Sunga period. The Satvahanas' most notable contribution to the Buddhist art is the famous Mahachaitya of Amravati and its railing with a vast collection of sculptures. The Satvahanas' master-sculptures were also responsible for embellishing with beautiful bas-reliefs the four *toranas* or archways of the Great Sanchi Stupa about the latter half of the 1st Cen. B.C. On the whole the four sites of Bharhut, Gaya, Sanchi and Amravati were the pride of the sculptural remains of the post-Mauryan period. Of these Bharhut is dated C 150 B.C., Sanchi about the end of the 1st Cen. B.C. and Gaya standing somewhere between the two. The Amaravati *stupa* which was finally completed in C. 250 A.D. is the largest monument of the series being 162 feet in diameter and 100 feet in height. It is surrounded by a railing of 192 feet diameter. Barring the architectural details of the monuments which are likely to be dealt with in the article on Buddhist architecture we shall mainly concentrate upon their carved panels—and medallions which being essentially in relief can be visualised from the front side only.

The Sanchi "Stupa 2" which stands west-ward below the Great Sanchi Stupa was first opened in the 19th century. Its dome consisted of the relics of two disciples of Buddha and ten other Buddhist monks who had participated in the third Buddhist council summoned by Asoka in about 250 B.C. Its reliefs being very thin and low were the first attempt at linear composition "invariably restricted to a single figure or a motif set off by realistic or decorative foliate forms, such as the Wheel and the Tree to typify the moments from the life of the Buddha or animals and birds intended to evoke the stories of his former incarnations".[7]

Though the Bharhut Stupa itself is not existant all that now survives of its stone railing and entrance archways is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. As shown by Alexander Cunningham in his study *Stupa of Bharhut*, the figure sculptures at Bharhut are numerous and varied. They are purely archaic in character and have been broadly categorised as representing (i) Supra heaven Beings like Yakshas, Devas, Nagas and Apasaras, (ii) T

7. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 57

Human Beings like royal and religious personages, (iii) scenes from Buddha's previous birth stories (Jataka) and from historical events connected with his life, (iv) objects of worship such as *stupas* wheels (*dharmachakras*), *Tri-ratna* symbol, Buddha's throne and foot-prints (*Paduka-chinha*), Bodh-tree, etc., and (v) various other miscellaneous objects such as palaces, religious houses, pillars, hermitages, ascetics, animals, vehicles, trees and fruits, ornaments, musical instruments, etc. From the standpoint of Buddhist art the sculptural scenes from Jatakas and history are most fascinating. "We have more than a score of illustrations of historical scenes connected with the life of Buddha, which are quite invaluable for the history of Buddhism. . . . Amongst the historical scenes the most interesting are the processions of the Rajas Ajatsatru and Prasenjit on their visits to Buddha, the former on his elephant, the latter in his chariot, exactly as they are described in the Buddhist chronicles. Another invaluable sculpture is the representation of the famous Jetavana monastery at Sravasti with its mango tree, and temples, and the rich banker Anathapindika in the foreground emptying a cartful of gold pieces to pave the surface of the garden".[8]

It is unique about Bharhut-reliefs that most of them are inscribed with the contemporary inscriptions facilitating the onlooker to identify them with absolute certainty. The inscriptions in addition also record the names, occupations and the native places of the donors. In an inscription on the eastern gateway of the Mahastupa it is inscribed that "In the kingdom of Sugana (Srughna) this *Torana*, with its ornamented stonework and plinth, was caused to be made by king Dhana-bhuti, son of Vachhi, and Aga Raja, son of Goti and grandson of Visa Deva, son of Gagi". Among other donors were included the queens of the Mitra dynasty, rich merchants, artisans, and nuns hailing from different parts of India such as Patliputra, Kosambi and Mathura in the North, Nasik and Kartad in the Deccan and Berar from the farthest south.

Cunningham in his study has listed 24 Jatakas represented in the Bharhut-reliefs. Of the historical scenes there are seven in all, to list, Tikutiko chakamo, Maya Devi's Dream, the Jetavana Monastery, Indra-Salaguha, King Ajatsatru's visit to Buddha, the visit of King Prasenjit to Buddha and the Sankisa Ladder. The story of the donation of Jetavana monastery by Setthi Anathapindika or Sudata which was quite popular among Buddhists found depicted in the circular medallion of one of the pillars.

8. Cunningham, Alexander, *The Stupa of Bharat*, p. 18

Both Fahien (4th Cen. A.D.) and Yuan Chwang (7th Cen. A.D.) refer to it. In the concerned Bharhut relief are represented Anathapindika, prince Jeta and his friends, the unloaded cart, unyoked sitting bullocks, the gold coins and so on. Anathapindika is bearing a kettle like vessel in his hands to pour water over Buddha's hand with the intention of presenting the monastery for the use of monks from all parts of the world. Ajatsatru's visit to the Buddha is carved on one of the pillars of the western gate and that of Prasenjit on a broken pillar of the southern gate. In the lower bas-relief king Ajatsatru is illustrated as mounted on an elephant being followed by several women also on elephants. The inscription on the right hand panel which is also a part of the scene reads"*Ajatsatru Bhagavato Vandate*" i.e. Ajitasatru worships (the foot-prints of Buddha).

The leading scenes from Buddha's life such as incarnation, nativity, enlightenment, etc. are represented not through human figures but through specific symbols like a tree (Bodhi-*Vriksha*), umbrella (*chhatra*), feet or *Paduka,* wheel (*dharmachakra*) and an alter or throne (*asana*) beneath the Bodhi-tree. From the inscribed panels it is evident that these symbols speak for the Buddha himself. For instance Naga Elapatra and King Ajatsatru are portrayed as kneeling before the tree-alter and the *paduka*-alter in reverance to the Great Master not actually figured. The three-pointed *triratna* symbol stood for the three jewels—the Buddha, the Law and the Order. The nativity is represented by a figure of Maya Devi (Buddha's mother) seated or standing on a lotus flower with or without elephants pouring water from the inscribed jars. The wheel is symbolic of the attainment of Buddhahood or Enlightenment.

The famous railing at Bodhgaya marks the surface where Buddha walked after enlightenment. It is rectangular rather than round. Its motifs like those of Bharhut are very low and flat. They consist of subjects like a Buddhist chapel enshrining the *dharmachakra,* the Bodhi tree encircled by a plain railing, a buffalo within a lotus frame, husband and wife seated together, a fish tailed monster and numerous fantastic heraldic animals such as winged lion, oxen and so on. The story of Jetavana monastery is also repeated here but in a less exuberant manner and without corroborative levels.

From the technical and artistic point of view the invariably low and flat figures in the reliefs of Sanchi "Stupa 2", Bharhut and Bodhgaya suggest that the post-Mauryan artists were not s

skilled in stone carving as those of the Mauryan court. The former were perhaps adept in working of wood or ivory and were trying to transfer their skill in stone. If so, it may naturally be held that the post-Mauryan artists were of Indian nationality beyond all doubts and their art was also indigenous or national. A flowering linear rhythm to bind together each isolated item in one whole is another characteristic feature of the Sunga art. The Bharhut panel displaying king Prasenjit and a few Yakshini figures (Chandra and Sudarshana) are the best examples of their technique of flowering linear rhythm. But this technique was not to be uniformally adhered to. The Ajatsatru panel, the scene of Buddha's decent from Tusita heaven and the figures of Yakshas (Virudhaka, Gangeya and Suchiloma), Sirima Devata and certain others may be cited as examples of the discarded trend and yielding to the 'schematic manner by vertical and horizontal lines'.

To sum up the Buddhist art of Sunga period is archaic, conceptual and narrative exhibiting the contemporary life and society. "The general tone of the art of Bharhut is very modest, sober, very much restrained; they seem to be untouched by any dramatic movement or by any high tide even when such occasions present themselves. They speak briefly and almost in one embarrassed manner. There is an unmistakable solemnity in their appearance; they are earnest, dignified and detached".[9] The art of Bodhgaya which belongs to a stage later than Bharhut is both technically and aesthetically a step forward from Bharhut.

The Great Sanchi Stupa (No. 1) believed to contain the relics of the Buddha himself is a site dearest to the Buddhists world-over. The *Stupa* originally built by Asoka was subsequently enlarged to nearly twice its original size. It was finally completed during the reign of early Satavahanas with the addition of four gateways. At present the Great Tope consisting of a solid dome of stone and brick is 120 feet in diameter and has a height of about 40 feet with a slope of 2½ feet. The base is surrounded by a massive colonnade and rails. The pillars of the colonnade are slightly less than ten feet high and the rails, three in number, are at an interval of four inches. Of the four entrance gates the southern gate was the earliest to be followed by the eastern, northern and western gates. An epigraphic record on the eastern archway reveals that the magnificent *Torana* was carved during the time of the early Satkarni by the ivory workers haling from Vidisha.

9. Ray, N. R. *Maurya and Post-MauryaArt*, (New Delhi, 1975), p. 69.

The art of Sanchi is predominantly Buddhist in its theme. The subjects represented are picturesque combination of contemporary Buddhism and domestic life. The gateways are embellished with elegant figures of tree-goddesses, *Yakshas,* horsemen, animals, etc. which serve a twofold purpose of decorative devices as well as of supporting brackets. The pillars of the western gateway have the capital figures of four grotesque dwarfs, those of the southern entrance of four seated lions and of the northern and eastern entrances of four elephants surmounted by their riders. All the capital figures are back to back. The reliefs on the posts represent goddess Lakshmi, Indra's heaven or the Tusita heaven of the Buddha yet to be born and many other Buddhist objects. Several Jataka tales are inscribed on the pilasters and the beams. On the outer face of the eastern gateway the Kashyap panel is a popular depiction. It relates the conversion of the heratic Kashyaps by the Buddha after performing the miracle of walking upon water. The Kashyaps rowing out in a boat to rescue the Buddha are carved in the upper niche of the panel. But Buddha, however, showing an utter disregard to the rescuing measure confounded the Kashyaps by walking upon the water. Following the tradition of not showing the Master in a human form his presence on water is indicated by a floating slab of stone or a plank. In the lower part of the relief the Kashyaps are again shown with their folded hands in reverence to the Great Master. Many other life stories of the Buddha are also illustrated. Of these the scenes of the Great Departure or *Mahabhinishkramana* i.e. the prince Siddhartha leaving the palace in search of truth and the scene of the Buddha's return to the home town of Kapilvastu after attaining Enlightenment are a few noteworthy illustrations. Among elaborately treated scenes are the war of relics, the Chhadanta Jataka, the seige of Kusinara, Asoka's visit to Bodhi tree etc. Besides such Jataka tales and scenes from history the motifs at Sanchi also abound in various other Buddhist objects such as *stupas,* Bodhi-tree, Buddha's feet, wheel, *tri-ratna* symbol, etc. in addition to the contemporary secular subjects like royal palaces, costumes, chariots, arms, instruments, warriors, armaments and animals of infinite variety and charm. Though the Sanchi reliefs in their theme are strikingly akin to that of Bharhut technically and aesthetically "the art of Sanchi shows a marked struggle on the part of the craftsman to evolve a more natural mode of representation and the frontality observed at Bharhut is to a certain extent overcome, though still present, through slight attempt at the treatment of perspective and general pictorial effect in stone."

Before turning our attention towards Amaravati Art which marks a culminating point of Early Classical Age of Buddhist art initiated at Bharhut, it is desirable to review the landmarks of the Gandhara and Mathura Schools of Art which had come into being and were still a living force in the North-Western and Northern India before the completion of the Amaravati Stupa in c.250 A.D. The Schools of Gandhara (the lower Kabul Valley and Upper Indus around Peshawar, now in Pakistan) and of Mathura both flourished under the Kushana kings belonging to the Yue-Chih tribe of Central Asia. Kanishka who was the most powerful and influential Kushan ruler had carved out an extensive empire which included Kabul, Kashmir, the Punjab and the Ganga-Yamuna delta. He defeated the Parthians and subjugated the Chinese provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. He founded his winter capital town Purushpur now known as Peshawar. Like the Mauryan emperor Asoka he was an ardent Buddhist. His magnificent stupa at Peshawar was a great attraction for visitors. "To sum up the various descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims, it consisted of a basement in five stages (150 feet), a superstructure ("stupa") of carved wood in thirteen stories (400 feet), surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 feet) making a total height of 638 feet."[10] The fourth and the last Buddhist council was convened by Kanishka at Kundalavana in Kashmir as a result of which Buddhism soon became divided into two principal sects of Hinayana and Mahayana. The Buddhists who still wanted to stick to primitive Buddhism and the purer exposition of its doctrines came to be known as Hinayanists or the followers of "Lesser Vehicle." Mahayana Buddhism of "Greater Vehicle" was very different from the simple ethical creed of Hinayana. The Mahayana which concentrated on Bhakti or personal love regarded the Buddha as a *Lokottara* or Supermundane Being and as such the Mahayanists began to deify the Buddha in human form.

Kanishka himself was a follower of the Greater Vehicle as a result of which the Buddhist art that flourished in the North-West through Kanishka's patronage marked the beginning of the cult-image in Buddhism. The first image of the Buddha is believed to have been fashioned in the Gandhara School of Art. As the Kushana remained dominant in Mathura also for a sufficiently long period the Mathura School of Art also

10. Coomaraswamy, Anand, K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 53

followed the instance of Gandhara School by developing the Buddhist icons.[11] As both these schools had begun their sculptural activities under the patronage of Kanishka and his successors who were contemporaneous with the later Satavahanas, the Amaravati sculptures could not remain uninfluenced by the Gandhara and Mathura models and modellers. Hereafter leaving aside the details of the Gandhara and Mathura schools of art which will be dealt with at a later stage we again turn our attention to the Buddhist Art of Amaravati.

Amaravati which is situated at a distance of about 32 kilometres from Guntur, Krishna Valley, was the eastern seat of the Satavahana rulers. According to Taranath (17th cen.) Amaravati was one of the topes originally built by Asoka. Dharnikataka which was its original name is found mentioned in two of the earliest Amaravati inscriptions which on palaeographic grounds are dated as contemporaneous with the Asokan script. It is on the basis of the distinctive sculptural styles and the palaeographic characteristics of the inscriptions that the Amaravati finds, now shared between the British Museum and the Madras Government Museum, are distinguishable as belonging to four different periods of execution.[12] The figures of the earliest phase i.e. 200 B.C.—100 B.C. being slightly dull and stiff resemble those of the Bharhut style. The reliefs of the first period illustrating the scenes from the Buddha's life are fragmentary and not many. Among these the scenes representing the shooting contest, the story of Sujata feeding Gautama, the story of Temptation by Mara, the conversion of Jatilas headed by Uruvela Kassapa as narrated in the *Mahavagga,* the story of Angulimala and the quarrel for the relics of the Master are popular Buddhist themes. The second period of sculptural art at Amaravati is of about 100 A.D. To this period belong the casing slabs representing the main events of Buddha's life such as his Enlightenment, First Sermon and

11. It is also held by many that the first image of the Buddha was modelled in the Mathura School while still others believe that iconographic types of Buddha appeared simultaneously in both the Gandhara and Mathura Schools.

12. Douglas Barratt has suggested three phases to account for the development of Amaravati Art as Early (C. 125—150 A.D.), Middle (C 150—200 A.D.), and Late (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.). His contention is based on the argument that "Before the 1st Cen. A.D. there was neither the social organisation nor the economic wealth to erect a series of monuments in Andhradesa. It is not even certain that its inhabitants professed the Buddhist religion". *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, p. 20.

Death. At this stage we find the first departure from the tradition of symbolic portrayal of the Buddha. Here the Buddha in anthropomarphic form is shown just more than twice. Stylistically, too, the figures of the second period are more graceful than those of the preceding one. The third period commencing with 150-A.D. is most significant from the standpoint of sculptural art. The famous Buddhist rail (so called on account of its peculiarity around all great Buddhist *stupas*) surrounding the Amaravati *Stupa* was constructed during the third period. The railing which is thirteen feet high consisting of three rails and a heavy coping is considered the pride of Buddhist art. According to Taranath it was constructed by Nagarjuna who was the minister of the Satavahana king Hala. The outer face of the coping being purely decorative was embellished with a continuous garland borne on their shoulders by youngmen and women. On the inner face were carved the scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jataka stories. In addition to the scenes repeated from Buddha's life already illustrated during the two preceding periods, such as Maya's Dream, the Great Enlightenment, Siddharatha's Departure, the First Sermon, the story of Angulimala, the Temptation of Mara, the division of relics, etc. etc. there are many more based on Buddha's life and his previous births. Related to such scenes there are panels depicting Ajatsatru's visit to the Buddha, king Prasenjit honouring the Buddha with Anand and other monks, a monkey offering honey to Buddha, the birth of Rahul, Buddha subduing the Nalagiri elephant and many others which form popular themes in Buddhist literature. The story of King Udayana and his two queens Mangandiya and Samavati is nowhere else represented. The scenes of queen Samavati's faith in Buddha, her devotion to Udayana, her co-wife Magandiya's jealousy for her are graphically depicted on an upright from the Amaravati rail.[13] Of the Jatakas portrayed at Amaravati the Chhadanta, Hansa, Champeyya, Vidhurapandita and Mandhata are worth mentioning. In many of the Amaravati reliefs the old Sanchi device of continuous narration could still be witnessed. A new device of uniconic representation of the Buddha comprising a pillar of fire above feet on a lotus crowned by a trident was very often adopted by the Amaravati sculptors responsible for the third and the most perfect style of developed relief art. According to C. Sivaramamurti "the art of the rail period at Amaravati was the most splendid in all

13. For full story of Udayana and his queens refer to C. Sivaramamurti's book, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*.

India and for all time. The high water-mark of Satavahana art is to be sought here and in this period. The figures are delicate and there is feeling of soft touch in them. Figures crowded in scenes but there is light feeling in all, flexions characterise poses but nothing can be termed gaudy and there is bouyant feeling of rich life in all of them.[14]

The figures of the last and the fourth period (C. 200-250-AD) as carved on *Chaitya* slabs are somewhat taller and slimmer. The subjects, as usual, comprise the *Jataka kathas,* scenes from the Master's life and a procession of Yakshas. Besides, there are a number of free standing Buddha images. In seated Buddha images one shoulder is normally shown uncovered. In a seated image of Buddha both hands are lifted in equal length as if sitting in *dhayanmudra* (meditation pose). In another seated figure he is shown with chauri bearer on either side and two worshippers below. The images of Buddha standing are either defaced or with broken limbs. They are normally dressed in a long robe (Buddhist *Sanghati*), flowing over the left shoulder like a Roman toga. He is holding up his mantle in the left hand and the right hand is held high in the *abhaya-mudra.* The folds of the mantle are nicely chiselled as are the curbs and portuberance on the head and the various facial features such as nose, eye, lips, etc. "A typical head of a Buddha from Amaravati reveals a certain relationship to the heads of the Kushana images in the general fullness and the warmth of conception, but, in contrast to the roundness of the facial contour of the Mathura Buddhas, the heads from Amaravati are of a norrow oval shape."[15] According to C. Sivaramamurti the Buddha images at Amaravati are that of a *chakravartin* in a monk's dress. The appearance of Buddha images here clearly indicates that Amaravati although originally a Hinayana sanctuary was under the influence of famous Mahayanist Nagarjuna who transformed it into a Mahayana shrine. The local cult of Yakshas and Nagas as at Bharhut and Sanchi were also objects of veneration there. In a drum slab Buddha is shown as seated on the coils of the Naga Muchilinda, his head being protected by the hoofs of the snake. As suggested by Douglas Barratt it is a rare depiction of the Buddha nowhere found in the early Buddhist art of Northern India, though common enough in the Jain art of Mathura.[16]

14. Ibid., p. 30.
15. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 125
16. Douglas Barratt, *op. cit.* pp. 60, 61.

Besides Amaravati there were many more *stupas* and *chaityas* around the Krishna River of which that at Nagarjunakonda is the most notable site. It affords the most prominent and flourishing example of Buddhist sculptural art after the age of Amaravati and the Satavahanas. It is named after the name of the famous Mahayana teacher Nagarjuna who spent his last days on Shri Parvata near Vijayapuri, the capital of the Ikshavakus who were the immediate successors of the Satavahanas. The Nagarjunakonda stupa is 106 feet in diameter and had an original height of 70 to 80 feet. Its sculptures of the light-green limestone resemble the Amaravati style and are presumed to be contemporary with the last stage of development of the Amaravati sculptures. The leading events of Buddha's life, as usual to all preceding art centres like, Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati form most popular subject of Nagarjunakonda sculptures. A standing Buddha sculpture excavated at Nagarjunakonda is a typical example of independent Buddhist icon. It is a headless statue with broken arms dressed in a Buddhist robe or *Sanghati* with bare right shoulder. The massive robe with folds well arranged in an ordered rythm of lines shows that it is distinctly related to the Kushana Buddha.

The Gandhara School of Art as shown above had started functioning in the 1st cen. A.D. In the Indian art history the name Gandhara art usually denotes the Buddhist sculptures of the Peshawar Valley. On account of the geographical position of Gandhara, the commercial and political contacts of the Kushanas with the West, and the already prevailing foreign influence in the North-West, the Gandhara art was entirely foreign in style. Though the Gandhara School is styled also as Greeco-Buddhist there is very little to show any Hellenic or Hellenistic element in it. It was nearer to Raman art than the Greek. Whatever little Hellenistic influence can be traced in Gandhara Art that may be ascribed to the Greek, Saka and Parthian influences prevailing in the North-Western India before the advent of the Kushanas. The Kushan kings patronised foreign artists to fulfil their pursuits and ideals. "It is not difficult to find in all collections of Gandhara sculptures fragments resembling Roman workmanship of all periods, from the time of the Flavians, Kanishka's contemporaries, to the very last style of Roman sculpture of the fourth century usually designated as late Antique".[17]

The remains of Gandhara Art are assignable to two phases of development—the first in stone or schist and the second from

17. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.* p. 77

about the fourth century onwards in stucco. According to Sir John Marshall the schist reliefs belonged to the imperial Kushanas and the stucco figures to the Kidara-Kushana days. The principal sites of Gandhara art are Jalalabad, Hadda and Bamiyan in Afghanistan, Swat Valley, Taxila and Peshawar. The Buddhist monuments in Gandhara were decorated with numerous statutes and reliefs. The Jatakas and popular events of Buddha's life such as his miraculous births, the victory over Mara, decease and so on form popular theme of Gandhara representations. For instance, the fire and water miracle at Sravasti as mentioned in one of the Jatakas is depicted in a relief illustrating Buddha with flames issuing from his head and the water of life from his feet.[18]

Of Buddha's images there were three principal variants as seated, (*asana*), standing (*sthanaka*) and recumbent (*shayana*). The recumbent type was to symbolise the *Mahaparinirvana* or the Great Decease of the Master. As such he is modelled as reclining sideways on a couch with his head supported by one of his hands. The *sala* trees standing nearby recall the scene of *sala* grove of Kusinara where Buddha died. A typical example of the recumbent type is the famous Nirvana scene illustrated in a nearly two feet high panel from Loriya Tangai, Swat Valley now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. As suggested by Benjamin Rowland "The Relief is a perfect illustration of the strangely unhappy stylistic mixture resulting from the combination of the technically advanced and realistic methods of Roman craftsmanship and the essentially archaic and conceptual point of view of the native tradition".[19] In the seated types, Buddha is executed with four different hand postures or *mudras* as the *abhaya* (of *protection*), the *dhyana* (of meditation), the *bhumisparsa* (touching the earth), and the *dharmachakrapravarttan* (turning the wheel of the Law). He is shown as seated with his legs locked in Indian *yoga* posture (*padmasana*). A seated Buddha sculpture in the Dahlem Museum, West Berlin, is one of the finest examples of classical type. It has coiled hair and moustache and is dressed in a robe falling to the feet. In the standing images of the Buddha, the right hand is held high in the *abhaya mudra* and the left is shown as hanging down projecting out of thick and folded drapery. Among the standing Gandhara Buddhas there are also small groups of images standing side by side. In one such set of eight figures, the first seven including the Sakyamuni are dressed in

18. Smith, V. A. *op. cit.* p. 56
19. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.* p. 81.

monk's garment while the remaining one is clad in a secular dress holding a nectar pot in its hand. The first seven figures as evident from their symbols are identifiable as past Buddhas. But the eighth one as suggested by the typical cognisance of nectar flask stands for Maitreya, the future Buddha. At Bamiyan in Afganistan are two colossal Buddha images one 122 feet high and the other 172 feet. The former is designated as Sakyamuni and the latter as a Buddha image by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang (7th Century). These images in a cliff face are assinged to the fourth century A.D.

Numerous detached heads of Buddha made of both stucco and terracota have also been found. Contrary to the Buddhistic ideal that the Awakened. One should appear as bald-headed the Gandhara artists had represented Him as possessing luxuriant hair, twisted into a large knot upon the crown of the head. In a stucco head of the Buddha, from a stupa at Hadda near Kabul, the mark between the eyes (*urna*) is a peculiarity. Originally supposed to be a hole, the mark was later believed to emit rays of light, like the third eye of Lord Shiva of the Brahmannical pantheon.[20] The detached heads as suggested by V. A. Smith might have been used to fix on walls as well as on clay images.

The Gandhara School is also credited with the invention of the icons of the Bodhisattva, the perfect being who even after attaining full knowledge and freedom from passion did not, out of universal compassion (*mahakaruna*) enter *nirvana* until all living creatures are led to salvation. The Gandhara Bodhisattvas are invariably shown as wearing muslin skirts, turbans and jewellery. The three principal Bodhisattvas known to Gandhara sculptors were Manjushri, Maitreya and Padmapani or Avalokiteshwara. Besides, a distinct iconographic type bearing a thunderbolt has been identified by Foucher as Yaksha Vajrapani who was the prototype of Bodhisattva Vajrapani, one of the major Dhyani-Bodhisattvas belonging to the developed Mahayana pantheon.

The Gandhara School remained active till the usurption of the throne of the Kushanas by the Huns in A.D. 465. But much before that, say during the second to fourth centuries A.D. Gandhara art passing through Khotan had reached China. From the 5th to the 8th century A.D. a constant stream of missionary monks accompanied with their scripts saturated Chinese Buddhism with Indian art. The original Gandhara impulse is still

20. Goetz, Hermann, *Five Thousand Years of India Art*, plate on p. 76.

alive in the Far East today. The Chinese and Japanese Bud-dhist pagodas owe a great deal to the *stupas* of the North-Wes-ern India.

The Mathura School of Art which was also patronised b the Kushanas had its most flourishing period during the firs three centuries of the Christian era. Like the Gandhara Schoo it did not have an abrupt beginning. Mathura on the Yamun River was an ancient city of northern India and one of the hol-est centres of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. As such th Mathura art represents the direct outgrowth of an earlier Indig art particularly that of Bharhut and Bodhgaya. But under th Kushana rulers, particularly Kanishka, the Mathura Schoo underwent a curious change. Though a few Buddhist figure from Mathura especially the relief carvings show the traces o Hellanistic influence, it cannot be denied that Mathura sculptor had developed an entirely Indian and new Buddhist iconogra-phy. In comparison with the contemporary Gandhara type those of Mathura had neither moustache nor an *urna* (the mar of the third eye between the eyes); were always shaven-heade without any curl and the *ushnisha* whenever preserved wa spiral; had the right hand raised in a blessing posture and th left often clenched or resting on the thigh in the seated figure In the standing figures the left hand supports the folds of th drapery, the elbow being always at some distance, and there often a seated lion between the feet. The treatment of drape and jewellery is typically Indian. The physicality such as th broad masculine chest and shoulders, the gestures, open eye smiling lips and other features are expressions of enormou energy.[21] If a Gandhara sculptor had a Greek hand with a Indian heart the Mathura sculptor had both hand and hear purely Indian.

Though the subjects handled by the Mathura artists great varied, the creation of the Buddha and Bodhisattva-images wa their most distinctive contribution. There were seated an standing images of both the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas o normal human size as well as colossal. They are all round o very high reliefs carved out of sotted red stone quarried at Sik or Rupbas. Being in popular demand they were exported fro Mathura to other Buddhist centres also such as Sarnath, Sravas and Taxila in the northern India and even as far as Centr Asia outside India. Some of the master-pieces of this art ar (i) the standing Buddha figure from Sarnath dedicated

21. Coomaraswamy, Anand K., *op. cit.* p. 57

Bhikshu Bala, (ii) seated Bodhisattva from Katra in the Mathura to other Buddhist centres also such as Sarnath, Sravasti of Fine Arts, Boston, (iv) headless Bodhisattva from Sarnath in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and (v) standing Bodhisattva from the Jetavana (Sravasti) dedicated by Bhikshu Bala, now in the Calcutta Museum. Of these No. 1, namely the standing Sarnath Buddha bearing an inscription of the 3rd year of Kanishka is presumed to be the earliest. It is a colossal image with his right-hand raised in the *abhayamudra* and the left on the hip supporting the folds of his robe. The skull protuberance which is somewhat different from the usual spiral type is suggested "to have been inset in the head by means of a tenon or mortice".[22] There is also a seated lion between the feet. It is sometimes believed to be the statue of Bodhisattva rather than of the Buddha for the reason that it is nude up to the waist and wears a characteristic Indian *dhoti*.[23] The seated Bodhisattva from Katra (No. 2 above) is dated 2nd Century A.D. and is inscribed "for the happiness and welfare of all beings". There is a flying spirit on its either side and an attendant figure each wearing the knotted waist-cloth typical of Kushan art. The two attendants are presumably identified with the Hindu gods, Indra and Brahma, who were later replaced with the Bodhisattvas. The folds of the drapery are extremely formal, the right shoulder is uncovered and the right hand raised in the usual posture of assurance. Of the three semi-lions of the pedestals the one in the centre is facing towards front and the other two, one at each end, are sitting with faces turned opposite. The distinct magic marks like, the wheel, trident etc., on the palms and soles are indicative of the *Mahapurusha-lakshans*. Although it is described to be the figure of a Bodhisattva in the inscription on the pedestal it is held to be that of the Buddha because of the orthodox costume of the Buddha and his seat beneath the Bodhi tree.

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22. Smith, V. A. op. cit. p. 41 : Benjamin Rowland says "although the individual curls are not shown, the hair is indicated as cut short and forming a sort of cab on the skull". op. cit. p. 95.

23. The reason for such a confusion is thus explained by A. K. Coomaraswamy—"The early inscriptions distinguish by the designations "Buddha" and "Bodhisattva" types which are to all appearances the same : in these cases "Bodhisattva" must refer to Gautama, Sakya Muni, and may be freely equated with "Buddha". In the early Kushan period the iconography is not yet fixed, and there is considerable variety of costume, and it would appear that prototypes of the later crowned Buddhas can already be recognised". op. cit. p. 56.

The tradition of the plastic art of the Mathura School of th Kushans had also extended to the reign of the Imperial Gupta Although the Gupta kings were the orthodox Hindus or th followers of the Brahmannical religion of *yajnas*, they were t learnt enough to allow all other religions like Buddhism an Jainism also to flourish without any prejudice. As a result this catholic attitude of the Gupta emperors Buddhist art reache its climax during their reign. The Buddhist art of the Gup Age is best represented by the two main schools, those Mathura and of Sarnath near Varanasi. A standing Budd figure at Mathura, is the best specimen of the Mathura Art und the Guptas. This inscribed statue of the fifth century A.D. 7 feet and 2½ inches high. Though the drapery has not be wholly discarded, the late Gandhara drapery formula, as opin by Benjamin Rowland, "has been reworked into a rhythmic patte quite apart from its descriptive function; that is the repetition the loops of the string-like drapery provides a kind of relief to t static columnar mass of the body".[24] In other words the trans rent monastic robe was marked only in outlines or shown w schematic folds. At the same time the halo which in the Kush images was at once plain except a short scalloped margin now profusely decorated with floral pattern about a cen lotus. The halo (*prabha-mandala*) of this standing Buddha Mathura museum (A.5) was also painted as the traces of paint in the peacock feathers are still preserved. The spiri expression of the radiant face of the Master is also very m suggestive of final state of serenity and absolute mental equi rium, hence the Buddha's divinity. Another Buddha im dated 549/550 A.D. is now preserved in the Lucknow Muse It was donated by the lady Jayabhatta and originally belonged the Katra Keshavadeva in Mathura. Besides, there are m more instances of the Buddha and Bodhisattva icons hailing f the places like Jamalpur, Jaysinhapura and Chaubara in Math

An unusual specimen of the seated Buddha from Mat is illustrated by the stone image found at Mankuwar near A habad. On inscriptional basis it is assignable to the reig Kumara Gupta I. It is a peculair Gupta image of the Bud modelled in the old Kushan fashion with shaven head and web fingers and having a muscular physicality. It is dressed mere Indian *dhoti* or waist-cloth. The wheel on the ped symbolises the event of the *Dharmchakra-pravarttan*, the ing of the Wheel of the Law. A recumbent Buddha image

24. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 139

discovered from parinirvana shrine of Kushinagar where Buddha had breathed his last. In this twenty-feet long sculpture representing the *parinirvana* scene the Master is shown as reclining on the right side with his head resting on the right hand. There are also sculpt three mourning figures believed to be of the Buddha's favourite disciples Anand, Subhadra and Mallika. The fifth Century inscription on the pedestal mentions the names of both the donor and the sculptor as Swami Haribala and Dinna of Mathura respectively. Besides this, many other Buddhistic images were also found at Kushinagar.

Another flourishing centre of the Buddhist art activity in the Gupta age was at Sarnath. All Sarnath sculptures were executed in the Chunnar sandstone, the material used earlier by the Mauryan artists. A typical example of this school is the image of the standing Buddha donated by the Sakyabhikshu Abhayamitra in the year 473/474 A.D. The statue is notable for complete disappearance of the folds of drapery a characteristic feature of the Gandhara Buddha. Here he is clad in a smooth seath-like transparent drapery as a result of which luminous body beneath the robe is clearly revealed. Again unlike the straight Gandhara or Mathura Buddhas the body of the Sarnath Buddha is posed in the Tribhange style of Indian dance, i.e. with slight curbs on the axis of the body. The right hand is raised in the *abhaya-mudra* and the left is hanging down projecting out of the drapery. The very perfect modelling of the body proves beyond all doubt that the icons during the Gupta age were composed strictly in accordance with the proportion fixed for each part of the statue in the standard texts on iconography.

Three years after this standing Sarnath image the same Buddhist monk Abhayamitra had caused to be made another icon of the Buddha seated cross-legged, with the hand raised in the *abhaya-mudra* and honoured with a *chhatra* or umbrella. But another 5½ feet, high relief-statue of the seated Buddha discovered from the ruins of Sarnath is considered the masterpiece of the Indian art of all times. The Buddha is seated in the *yoga* posture posing the fingers of his two hands in front of his chest in a specific position termed as *Dharmachakrapravarttan mudra* i.e., the first public preaching of the Buddhist doctrine leading to *nirvana*. The Buddha is wearing a close-fitting smooth robe absolutely free from Hellenistic or any other foreign influence. On the pedestal are carved the figures of the first five disciples to whom Buddha preached *Dharma* and the two deer indicate the

Mrigadava, the Deer Park, the site of the first turning of the Wheel of the Law. The wheel in the centre of the pedestal is the symbol of the *Dharma* and the woman with the child on the left corner is perhaps the donor of the image. The back slab representing the diamond seat is carved with hybrid monsters and *makaras*. The halo encircling the head is deeply cut and lavishly decorated. A flower bearing *aspasara* is marked on either side of the halo. Iconographically the relief in the words of Dr. V. S. Agrawala is "the highest triumph of Indian art viz. an attempt to visualise the superman endowed with the highest wisdom (*annuttarajnana*), detached and austere in his discipline but still disposed for the good of mankind".[25] To quote, again Benjamin Rowland, "There could be no more appropriate nor beautiful illustration of the metapherical conception of the cult image and its separate parts than this icon; the line of the brows follows the tensile curve of the Indian bow; the eyes are lotiform; the face has the perfect oval of the egg; and the body once again is a combination of the various allegories of great strength and beauty contained in the lakshnas".[26]

In the Sarnath Museum there are also a number of images of the Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteshvara, Maitreya and Manjushri recognisable on the basis of the miniature figures of their respective Dhyani-Buddhas or the spiritual fathers borne on the crown. For instance the standing image of Avalokiteshvara now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is identified on the basis of the small figure of Bodhisattva Amitabha in the diadem overhead. He is wearing a necklace of pearls. The body under the transparent *dhoti* is clearly visible. Bodhisattva Maitreya is now shown as holding a bunch of *Nagakesara* flowers in his hand in place of the nectar pot as before.

The Gupta art is also known for some singular metal sculptures. Of these the most remarkable example is the standing Buddha's copper image from Sultanganj, Bhagalpur district Bengal. This magnificent image of C.400 A.D., seven and a half feet high and weighing over a ton is now on display in the Birmangham Museum. Stylistically, it is more akin to the standing Buddha from Sarnath than to the Mathura images. The body and the limbs are perfectly attuned, the curly fringes are smoothly fashioned and the transparent drapery with faintly marked folds reveals the luminous body beneath. As further suggested by Benjamin Rowland, "much of the impressiveness of this figure

25. Agrawala, V. S. *Gupta Art*, p. 17
26. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.* p. 142

derives from the position of the arms unfurling the mantle on either side of the body like giant wings outspread."[27] Another equally impressive metal image of Buddha was found in Nalanda (now in Nalanda Museum). A bronze statuette of the Gupta age from Dhanesar Khera, dated C.400 A.D. is in the Nelson Art Gallery, Kansas City. Though stylistically it resembles the Sultanganj bronze, there are certain noticeable differences of details between the two. The Gupta statue has a hole or mark of *urna* between the eyebrows, is endowed with a plain halo with the projecting rays and wears a robe partly patterned in the Gandhara style. Other important examples of the Buddhist metal sculptures of Gupta period are (i) a copper and silver inlaid brass figure of seated Buddha (6th Cen. A.D.) from Fatehpur, Kangra, (ii) the Boston bronze Buddha (5th Cen. A.D.) from Burma, (iii) the statuettes from the Banda District, Bengal, and (iv) a small gold Buddha in the British Museum".[28]

During the post-Gupta period or the early Middle Age the Buddhist pantheon had largely developed under the influence of Tantrism. Vajrayana or the 'Thunderbolt Vehicle' which forms the backbone of the Tantric Buddhism was so called because the *Vajra* or thunderbolt in it was held as the symbol of voidness which like *Vajra* is immutable, impenetrable and indestructible. In Vajarayana or Tantric Buddhism, Buddha was regarded as the Adi or Primordial Buddha. Prajnaparamita was his *Shakti* or the female counterpart. In his sculptures he is represented as single as well as associated with his *Shakti* (yab-yum). When single he is generally shown as richly dressed and ornamented, seated in the *Vajraparyanka-mudra* (attitude of meditation), holding a *Vajra* (representing *shunya*) in his right hand, a bell (representing *Prajna* or wisdom) in his left hand and both the hands placed crosswise on the chest. In the latter form he is sometimes shown embraced by Devi Prajnaparamita who is smaller in size, beautifully dressed, and ornamented, carrying a knife in her right hand and a *kapala* or skull in the left. Keeping in view the Vijrayanic philosophy one may say that knife here symbolizes the cutting of ignorance and skull the Absolute Oneness, Vajradhara stands for voidness and Prajnaparamita for compassion and the embrace of both indicates the conception of the *Prajnopayavinischaya* or the cessation of all duality.

The five Dhyani-Buddhas mythically believed to have originated from Vajradhara are the divinities next in importance to

27. *ibid.*, p. 143.
28. Coomaraswamy, Anand, K. *op. cit.*, p. 85

Vajradhara. They are Amitabha, Akshobhaya, Vairochana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava. Each of them has a *Shakti* and Bodhisattva of his own and is described as the progenitor of a *kula* or family of deities. The seven Manushi or mortal Buddhas namely Vipashyin, Shikhi, Vishvabhu, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyap and Shakyasinha are next to the Dhyani Buddhas. But the historicity of only the last of these is certain. Their figures both seated and standing have come down to us. Sometimes they are even represented in a group of seven. Each of them also has a Mortal Buddhashakti, and a Mortal Bodhisattva of his own. Below these Buddhas stood the Bodhisattvas. The *Nishpannayogavali* presents the names of twenty-five Bodhisattvas in all. Of them Majushri and Avalokiteshvara were specially popular. In India their sculptures have been mostly discovered in Uttar Pradesh, Magadha and Bengal.[29]

The sculptors of the numerous deities of the Tantric Buddhist pantheon were executed in the two most famous schools of later Buddhist art, viz., the Magadhan School and Bengal School.[30] The former had flourished under the patronage of the Pala kings of Bengal and the sculptures produced by this school can be visualised in the collections of the museums at Sarnath, Nalanda and Patna. Both Sarnath and Nalanda museums excel in the sculptures of the five Dhyani Buddhas and Vajrasattvas. Among other deities belonging to Vajrayana pantheon those of peculiar interest are of Manjushri, Tara, Marichi, Shadakshari Lokeshvara, Jambhala and Vasudhara. During the Pala period Buddhist sculptured relief icons were also made in a hard glossy black slate. The remains of Somapura monastery founded by Devapala exhibit many fine terracota panels. The art of casting the metal images also continued uninterrupted during the post-Gupta centuries. Many metal images belonging to the Pala-Sena dynasties of Bengal have been discovered from Kurkihara (Gaya district) Sirpur and Nalanda. Two bronzes-one of Majushri (8th–9th Cen. A.D.) and the other of the Buddha's Nativity (C.10th)-both from Nalanda are now in the National Museum, New Delhi.[31] The bronze images which during post-Gupta period were mass-produced were exported all over South-East Asia. At one time when there was a close contact between Nalanda and

29. Sharma, Brij Narain, *Social Life in Northern India, A. D. 600 to 1000*, pp. 202-203.

30. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 35

31. Agrawala, V. A., *The Heritage of Indian Art*, pp. 30 & 180

the Shrivijaya and Shailendra dynasties of Malaya and Java, the Nalanda bronzes were so abundant in the South-East Asia that it was difficult even to ascertain whether the metal statuettes were Indian products or Javanese.

The Bengal School of latter Buddhist art had its flourishing period from the 9th Century onwards and remained so till the Muslim conquest of Bengal. Many of its beautiful specimens are now shared by the museums at Calcutta, Dacca, Rajshahi and the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad. The reminiscences of the art of Bengal school can still be traced in Nepal. After the annihilation of the great universities of Nalanda and Vikramashila at the hands of the Muhammadens many Buddhist priests who had escaped to Nepal also carried with themselves the art of Bengal. It is historically important that almost all the monasteries in Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Lalitpattan had originated in the 13th Century after the Indian Buddhist priests had migrated there from Bengal and most of the monasteries in Nepal are the repositories of Buddhist images of diverse kinds. The whole of the later Nepal and Tibetal sculpture is also based on Tantric Pala style of metal imagery. After the Muslim occupation of eastern India Buddhism was expunged from the land of its birth.

No account of Indian Buddhist art will be complete without a reference to the early Buddhist ivories and the Indian cave sculptures and paintings of Buddhist interest. The mentioning of the guides of ivory workers in the inscriptions proves that the ivory craft was one of the well-organised and honourable professions in early India. But unfortunately nothing survives of the early Buddhist ivories as worth-mentioning except a Trinity in high relief now in a private collection in New York. It represents a Buddha with two attendants believed to be Bodhisattvas or Taras. Its date is also uncertain though on the basis of certain indirect evidences it is presumed to be of the 7th century A.D.[32]

Of the Indian caves or the rock-cut sanctuaries as they are also called, the earliest reference occurs in the two Barabara hill cave inscriptions of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka, recording the gift of the caves to the Ajviakas, a non-Buddhist sect. Though the cave sanctuaries belonged to all the three great religions of India, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, a majority of them were the

32. Benjamin Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 & 162. For many more Gupta and post-Gupta specimens refer to *Indian Ivories*, chap. VII by Dwvedi, V.P.

Buddhist monuments serving both as *chaitya*-halls and the monastic settlements. The Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries were largely executed in the Western India the famous centres being Bhaja, Bedsa, Kondane, Kanheri, Karle, Nasik etc. Bagh caves in Madhya Pradesh and Ajanta and Ellora in Maharashtra were other remarkable sites. The early rock-cut monuments found at Bhaja, Bedsa, Kanheri etc. with dates ranging from the 2nd Cen. B.C. to 3rd century A.D. reprenested the Hinayana phase of Buddhism. Under the Vakataka rulers and their successors the old Buddhist monuments like those at Bhaja, Kanheri, Junnar and Nasik had undergone considerable alterations to fulfil the new dogmatic and ritualistic needs of developed phase of Mahayanic Buddhism. Of the later cave sanctuaries 4th to 7th century), predominantly representing Mahayanic phase, those at Ajanta and Ellora are most renowned all over the world. Of these Ajanta caves are exclusively Buddhist while those at Ellora were dedicated to all the three great faiths of India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Ajanta caves are unique examples of a wonderful combination of architecture, sculpture and painting. Out of the 31 caves in all, not chronologically numbered, caves No. XXVIII and XXXI are unfinished and unaccessible.[33] Of the remaining 29 principal caves No. X, IX, XIX, XXVI and XXIX (unfinished) are *chaityas* and the rest served as *viharas* or monastic settlements. Of all caves No. VI is a two-storeyed monument. The earliest *chaitya* halls (X, IX) and *viharas* (VIII, XII, XIII) originally represented the Hinayana phase. The earliest caves date from the 2nd century B.C. while the others are as late as the 7th century A.D. The Buddha's figures in different attitudes, the figures of Buddhist gods and goddesses, and the depiction of Jataka tales on the walls of the caves are the distinguishing features of the Mahayanic caves. The paintings of caves No. I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII commonly known as "frescos",[34] are their most remarkable sights. These *paintings* which date from the 2nd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. represent the traditional Buddhist theme such as the Buddha's figures in different poses, the scenes of the Buddha's earthly life, Bodhisattvas, the Jatakas, Yakshas and Yakshnis, Nagas and Nagis, animals, floral

33. Weiner, Sheila L. *Ajanta*, p. 1

34. "The paintings at Ajanta are often incorrectly referred to as 'frescos'. A fresco is painted while the plaster is still damp, while at Ajanta they were made after it had set". Kail, Owen, C. *Buddhist Cave Temples in India*. p. 80.

and decorative motifs and a large variety of secular objects. The Buddha or Bodhisattva is nowhere painted on the ceilings. The narrative scenes from a large number of Jatakas such as *Sibi, Sankhapala, Visvantara, Kshantivada, Shyama, Sarabha, Mriga, Shaddanta, Mahajanaka, Hansa, Hasti, Mahakapi, Sutosoma, Mahisha,* etc. are so numerous that Ajanta paintings may in the fitness of the things, be described the epic of the Buddha's life.

Although no image is sculptured in caves X, IX they are rich in painting. On the left wall of the former is painted a king adoring a Bodhisattva and a *stupa* accompanied by his retinue, ladies, dancers and musicians. On the right side wall, are illustrated the scenes from *Sama* and *Shaddanta* Jatakas. In the paintings of cave IX is seen a group of Nagas approaching a *stupa*. The Buddha's figures outside the facade of cave IX are explained as "palimsests of the Mahayana Buddhists who occupied this group five, or six centuries later".[35] Stylistically the figure paintings of these early Ajanta *chaityas* are more or less akin to the sculptures of Bodhgaya and the carvings at Kondane and Pitalkhora.

Of the later group of the series (from 5th century A.D. to 7th century A.D.) caves No. XVI, XVII, XIX, XXVI, I and II are most magnificent. Cave No. XVI, according to an inscription on the left hand wall outside the verandah, was excavated by Varahadeva, a minister of the Vakataka King Harishena (C.A.D. 450—500). He had adorned the dwelling with windows, doors, picture galleries, statues of nymphs and a temple of the Buddha inside, and had also provided a large reservoir and a shrine of the Lord of the Nagas. The shrine image is of the Buddha seated on the throne in the *pralambapada* position in the *dharma-chakra mudra*. The scene of Sujata offering food to Buddha is an interesting painting covered into more than one panel. The chief painting here is the Buddha's return to Kapilvastu and conversion of his half-brother Nanda. Cave XVII is crowded with both sculptures and paintings. The shrine as usual has a seated Buddha attended by Padamapani and Vajrapani and two other figures. The panel on the doorway is decorated with the reliefs of the seven mortal Buddhas with Maitreya, the Future Buddha, all seated beneath the Bodhi tree.[36] No less than fifteen Jatakas are painted on the walls of the hall. The 'Taming of Wild Elephant' and the 'Miracle at Shravasti' are among the most popular paintings. In one of the paintings the Buddha is standing

35. *Ibid.*, p. 81
36. For the names of the seven mortal Buddhas see above.

before his wife Yashodhara and his son Rahula, with a begging bowl in his right hand. About Yashodhara's portraiture G. Yazdani remarks : "The rhythmic treatment of the different parts of her body, the graceful pose, and the fine brushwork shown in the curls above her temples and in the locks spread over her shoulders all represent art of a high order and make this fresco one of the finest portrayals of feminine elegance and of the emotions peculiar to the sex".[37]

Cave XIX is termed as "the treasure chest of the sculptor". Its porch, facade and the interior are all crowded with beautiful sculptures. Inside the chapel the Buddha's figures both standing and seated in different poses (*pralambapadsana, padmasana, varadamudra, abhayamudra, dhyana-mudra,* and *dharmachakra mudra*) are to be seen at a number of places. At one place the Buddha standing with a begging bowl before his wife and son is also sculptured. In one of the best panels of cave XIX are exhibited Naga King and Queen both wearing ornaments. Above the head of the Naga King seated in the *ardhaparyanka* pose is the hood of the seven serpent heads. Inside the shrine a full size standing relief of the 'Awakened one' in the abhayamudra is sculpted within the arch of the dagoba.

The whole facade of cave XXVI is profusely carved with the Buddhist figures. The principal shrine figure is of Buddha seated on a lion throne in the *pralambapada* position within the traditional dagoba. There is also a 23¼ feet long recumbent Buddha sculpture displaying the scene of his *Parinirvana*. Buddha is lying on his right side between the two *sal* trees. Buddha's two favourite disciples Anand and Kashyap are shown mourning the Master's decease along with many others.

Caves I and II are the latest of the series. In the shrine of Cave I a large seated Buddha with crossedlegs in *dharmachakra-mudra* flanked by chauri bearers is most attractive. The panel below the Master's seat shows the wheel, and two deer recalling the event of the turning of the 'Wheel of the Law' at Deer Park near Varanasi. The five disciples to whom the Buddha delivered his first sermon are also shown standing nearby. This cave is the most famous for its paintings of which the most remarkable is the colossal figure of Bodhisattva Padmapani styled in a slightly curved *tribhanga* pose, wearing a jewelled crown on his head, holding a lotus in his right hand and looking downward with eyes full of compassion typical of a Bodhisattva, regarded

37. Yazdani, G., *Ajanta*, Part IV, Text, p. 71.

the Diety of Compassion. He is attended by *apasras* or heavenly damsels scantly dressed but bedecked with jewellery. The feminine figures are much smaller than the principal figure of the Bodhisattva and one of them is also holding a lotus flower in her hand. Another equally grand and impressive Bodhisattva figure is believed to be of Vajrapani whose noble features, the eyes looking down compassionately, the high artistic crown and fine jewellery are most prominently depicted. Both these paintings are the master-pieces of Ajanta.

The paintings of Bagh Caves though primarily secular in nature are more or less an extension of Ajanta art. For a visitor to these caves a standing Buddha flanked by a chauri-bearer on either side on the wall of the ante-chamber of cave 2 is the principal attraction. Of the 34 Ellora Caves (C.550 A.D.-750 A.D.) No. I to XII belong to the Buddhist group. Of these No. XII being a three-storeyed building is locally known as Teen Tal. These caves contain the figures of Buddha in different poses, of Bodhisattvas, Manushi Buddhas and many other Buddhist deities, both male and female, like Tara, Prajnaparamita, Jhambala, etc. Though Buddhist figures at Ellora are colossal they as suggested by Yazdani lack that spiritual dignity and artistic grace which characterise the Ajanta art. Nor are the Ellora Buddha figures so appealing as those at Ajanta.

INDO-ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Z. A. Desai

Indo-Islamic Architecture is a living proof of the synthesis and fusion of what was best in the building traditions of two contrasting cultures, the Indian and the Islamic. It evolved consequent upon the firm establishment of Muslim rule in India towards the close of the twelfth century in North India bringing the two traditions face to face and thereby resulting in the impact of building art of the Islamic lands upon the fully developed and mature indigenous styles that had long existed here in different regions.

There was little in common between the foreign building art that had itself evolved out of the mighty traditions of Egypt, Persia and, through Syria and Anatolia, those of Greece, Rome and Byzantine and the equally exuberant and varied architectural phenomenon in India as exemplified in a large number of monuments. The new-comers were accustomed to certain types of buildings : for example, their place of worship, a mosque, was different from the local temple; the Tomb or mausoleum erected over the interred remains of the dead, a practice unknown in India, or their palace and mansion was of another pattern, governed by their social and religious customs. Then, the method of construction too was different. The buildings of Islamic countries were usually constructed of brick, lime and mortar which determined the method of their construction on the arcuate system, the central theme of which is the use of arch, vault and dome, squinch and other types of pendentives which gave them a distinct form and shape. The local building material was in the main stone and consequently, the method of construction trabeate, characterised by the use of pillar, lintel and pyramidal roof or conical dome. Even the concept of decoration and ornament, an integral part in any architectural tradition, was quite different : the rich and exuberant indigenous ornamentation which centred round plastic or natural, more particularly human forms was not acceptable to the new-comers on account of religious prohibition; the decoration in their case took the form of arabesque, geometric or calligraphic designs in varied media like gilding or painting in clear and bright colours, multi-hued tile-mosaics, inlay work in coloured stone or marble through *opus sectile* or *pietra dura* and the like.

The confrontation of two such seemingly opposite styles had to yield to some fusion in spirit of give and take. Out of fusion emerged a composite and homogeneous new style with its offshoots, achieved with varying degrees of success in different regions of the sub-continent at different periods, conditioned by local climatic conditions, type and availability of building material and above all, the aesthetic and intellectual tradition and skill in the art of construction of the region concerned. The story of this fusion is unfolded in the wide panorama of Mosques and Tombs and Forts and Palaces dotting the vast expanse of the country—the mute and yet eloquent witnesses to the genius and zeal of the master architects who planned and to the skill of the master-builders who gave concrete shape to them. It is particularly this part of our cultural heritage which has provided, unchanged or unaltered unlike perhaps some other aspects of Indian cultural life, the most glorious and eye-catching monument to the composite culture of the country.

This fusion was first attempted in the Quwwatul-Islam mosque at Delhi (1191-98) and the Arhai-Din-ka-Jhonpra mosque at Ajmer (1199-1200). But the attempt was not a complete success, since various problems of building and construction subjected to Islamic method and design had to be overcome. The former was improvised by arranging the material from the earlier Hindu buildings in the orthodox "open-quadrangle-enclosed by colonnade" mosque-plan, to which, to give an Islamic frontage to the prayer-hall, a five-arched Screen of gigantic size was subsequently added; but it could not become an integral part of the building. Same was more or less the case with the Ajmer mosque. Again, the true arcuate method of construction being unknown to the local artisans, the arches and the domes were not constructed on true scientific principles, but in horizontal or corbel style. The decoration was also predominantly Indian in character. Other mosques of this period are one each at Khatu and Kaman in Rajasthan.

However, the style soon began to imbibe Islamic building traditions in the extensions to the Quwwatul-Islam Mosque carried out in about 1229-30 by Shamsud-Din Iltutmish (1211-36) and also in the Qutb-Minar (1206-36) and the Tombs of Sultan Ghari (1231-32) and Iltutmish (*c.* 1236). Here, the local influence is found gradually losing its predominance. The Qutb-Minar, for example, rising in five storeys and treated exteriorally in sections of unusual patterns of angular and semi-circular flutings with balconied galleries supported on a novel pattern of

highly ornamented arched-niches-stalactite and with wide bands of boldly carved incriptions and geometrical and floral designs, is essentially Islamic in conception and execution. Incidentally, its exact prototype has now been traced to a ruined Minar at Khwaja Siah in south-west Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Tomb of Iltumish, on plan, is a square chamber roofed by a single dome, now fallen established, with the use of the purely Islamic squinch method in the phase of transition from the square of the hall to the circle of the dome, and with lavish ornament in the form of incriptions and geometric patterns, the Islamic design on one hand and on the other, general pattern of Indo-Islamic system of decoration. However, in arch and dome construction, the indigenous method still prevailed. No building of the second half of the thirteenth century has survived except one, traditionally believed to be the Tomb of Ghiya-Zud-Din Balban (1266-87), where the true arch is seen for the first time. But this tomb does not appear to be this early.

The building activities of Alaud-Din Khilji (1296-1316) opened a new chapter in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture. His buildings established once for all the usage of the true arch and dome. The Alai-Darwaza in the Qutb enclosure at Delhi, despite its moderate size and plan—a square single domed hall—has earned the reputation of being a treasured gem of Indo-Islamic architecture on account of the exquisite symmetry of form, perfect shape and contour of pointed horse-shoe arches decorated with fringe of conventional buds, (generally described as spear-head fringe), technique of dome-supporting squinch, fine workmanship of its building material, namely, red sandstone and white marble, and above all the panelled and recessed treatment of its interior and exterior. Among the other few extant buildings of the Khilji period are the Jammat Khana Mosque in the Dargah of Hazarat Nizamud-Din at Delhi the central chamber of which resembles Alai-Darwaza a great deal, the Tope Khana Mosque (*c.* 1316) and the Idgah (1318) at Jalore in Rajasthan and the Ukha Mosque at Bayana (1320), also in Rajasthan.

The architectural activities under the Tughluqs (1320-1412) acquired new dimensions. Apart from their large number, the buildings of this period made a great impact on the subsequent architecture of certain regions like the Deccan, Jaunpur and Malwa. Except in few earlier cases, the buildings were constructed of rubble stone, coated with thick plaster, cut-plaster

decoration and gilding, painting or encaustic tile-work on the walls of which consisted their main decorative scheme. In general, the architectural style of this period is massive and hence heavy, typical of which are thick and sharply sloping walls, high plinths or basements, battlemented parapet, multi-domed roofs and tapering minaret-like buttresses or supports at angles or prominent parts of the buildings. However, a remarkable feature of these buildings is their fine symmetry and proportion. The earliest notable building constructed in this style is the Tomb of Ghiyazud-Din Tughluq Shah (*c.* 1325) at Delhi. Except for the novel feature of the sharp batter of its walls, some features of this domed square chamber are reminiscent of, but not so refined, ornate or well-executed as the Alai-Darwaza. It served as a model for later tombs both in Delhi and elsewhere. Among the other notable buildings of this period are the Tomb of Kabiruddin Auliya, the monuments in the Kotla Firoz Shah complex, the Begampuri, Kali, Kalan and Khirki Mosques, the Tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani and the Tomb and College of Firoz Shah Tugluq (1351-88), all at Delhi. Of these the Tomb of Khan-i-Jahan (*d.* 1370) is particularly remarkable for its design of a single-domed octagonal chamber surrounded by an octagonal arched verandah, which served as a prototype for tombs for the next century and a half. Of the mosques, the Khirki Mosque has an unusual interior. Its open court is cut up into four open courts on a cruciform plan with two wings of arcades intersecting at right angle at the centre.

Under the next ruling Sayyid dynasty (1414-51), the building activities lost some of the momentum. The extant architectural specimens of comparable importance and beauty are two Tombs—the Tomb of Mubarak Shah (1421-34) and the Tomb of Muhammad Shah (1434-45)—which represent a more developed and polished form of the octagonal tomb-type mentioned above. The latter in particular, with its strikingly graceful dome and extremely pleasing proportion of its various parts can rank among the best monuments of its class.

Under the Lodi rule (1451-1526), there was again a spurt in building activities. The large number of tombs, which incidentally outnumber mosques of this period indicate an overall advancement in style. The Lodi monuments reflect attempts at a certain amount of imagination and bold diversity of design, more particularly in tombs. There are fine specimens of tombs, both in the octagonal and the square type. In the latter type, the exterior is given the look of being in two or three storeys by a

row of one, two or three arched recesses placed one upon another in one, two or three tiers, flanking the large arched entrances in the sides. The most outstanding among octagonal tombs is that of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) at Delhi, which, incidentally, does not have a double dome as is generally believed. The square-plan Tombs unlike their Tughluqian counterparts, have no slopes and are particularly remarkable for the diversity of designs of their exterior. Some of the most impressive of these are those locally called Bare-Khan-ka-Gumbad. Chhote-Khan-ka-Gumbad, Bare Gumbad and Shish-Gumbad (which two are particularly remarkable for their fine workmanship), Bagh-i-Alam-ka-Gumbad, Dadi-ka-Gumbad, Poti-ka-Gumbad, etc., all at Delhi. There are also tombs of sufficient architectural interest outside Delhi, as for example, at Narnaul, Sarhind and Tijara in Rajasthan and Kalpi in Uttar Pradesh. The most representative and notable mosques of this period are the Bara-Gumbad (*c.* 1494) and the Moth-ki-Masjid (*c.* 1500) at Delhi. The former, much smaller, is particularly remarkable for its arches of unusual shape and size and profuse but fine and delicately wrought stucco-ornament. The much larger Moth-ki-Masjid, the best of the extent mosques of the period, consisting of a large prayer-hall overlooking a terraced court, is remarkable for its beautiful and graceful domes, treatment of its facade and interior and rear corners which have storeyed octagonal turrets, and its fine entrance gate. The stone-carving, in particular, on the gate, is extremely refined, and in a couple of panels may be seen birds and animals motifs unusual, though not entirely unknown, in Islamic buildings.

The latest and the most imposing form of the Lodi style characterise the buildings of the Sur dynasty (1540-55). The Purana Qila with its magnificent mosque at Delhi is generally attributed to Sher Shah (1540-45). This mosque, the most ornate of the buildings in this style, is remarkable for its perfect workmanship and far richer and finer decoration in carving and inlay of coloured stones. The other notable mosque of this period is that attached to the Tomb of Isa Khan also at Delhi. The Tomb-architecture of this period as exemplified in Isa Khan's Tomb and in the groups of Sur tombs in Sassaram in Bihar is also the most imposing and highly developed form of the octagonal Sayyid-Lodi Tomb-style. The most outstanding and impressive of these is the Tomb of Sher Shah, combining soberness with elegance. The conception, form and execution of this most picturesque structure rising in five stages from the middle of an artificial lake, is illustrative of the wonderful imagination and vision of its architect.

The middle to the close of the fourteenth century witnessed the break-up of the Tughluqian empire into the independent Sultanates of Bengal, Deccan, Jaunpur, Malwa and Gujarat. The localisation of power gave great impetus to building activities in these regions, where new distinct styles came into being under the impact of the local style as also of certain recent foreign influences. In Deccan, again, the five post-Bahmani Sultanates, Gawilgarh-Ellichpur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda, produced as many regional varieties.

In Bengal the principal building material being brick, the construction was basically arcuate but the design and ornament were adapted to the strong local forms : The curvilinear roof was retained and close-set shallow-panelling and terracota decoration of great elegance contributed to surface decoration, which tended to be rich and far more elaborate, at the cost, at times, of other architectural ingredients. The earliest extant monument in Bengal is the Adina Mosque at Pandua (1369) constructed by Sikandar Shah (1359-83). Despite its dilapidated condition, this largest mosque in the region on the orthodox plan, is quite impressive. The double-storeyed portion in the northern part of its prayer-hall with short and heavy pillars in the lower and tall and elegant fluted ones in the upper is almost intact. But the first example is the typical Bengal style is the Eklakhi Tomb (*c.* 1425), also at Pandua; it is a simple but refined square structure with a curved roof capped by a single large dome and four octagonal turrets at corners. It was this Tomb which finally determined the architectural style of the subsequent mosques, tombs and edifices in Bengal, the most prominent among which in India, are the Dakhil-Darwaza (Gateway) and the Tantipara, the Chamkatti and Lotan mosques (about 1460-80) and Bara Sona mosque (16th century), all at Gaur. The Bengal mosques broadly conform to two distinct groups : One, square and single-domed and the other, oblong and multidomed, the octagonal turrets at corners, curvilinear roof and panelled decoration in terracota or occasional glazed tile-work, being common to both.

The Gujarat style (14-16th centuries) is by far the largest, the most important and also extremely elegant among the regional ones. From the beginning, it was a singularly beautiful style weaving the concepts of the symmetry and proportion into the main fabric of trabeate construction. This fabric was,

retained. Apart from this, the prominent features of the Islamic buildings of Gujarat are graceful arches and domes, exquisite devise of admitting light in the form of clerestory, prayer-halls of open-or closed hall-variety with beautiful facades, graceful minars on richly sculptured buttresses, delicately carved niches, and stone-screens and frequent use of highly artistic balconied windows on richly carved brackets of elegant designs. The notable buildings of this style, ranked among the best architectural remains of the country, to name only a few, among the earlier are Jami Mosques at Broach, Cambay and Mangrol and Hilal Qadi's Mosque at Dholka (all 14th century). The latter monuments include the Jami Mosque at Ahmedabad (1424), one of the largest and most beautiful mosques of the country; its impressively large prayer-hall overlooking the vast courtyard, with the breaking up of its uniform height, shapely arches and the clerestory formation in the middle behind the central opening flanked by lavishly sculptured minar-buttresses, is extremely pleasing. Some of the other impressive mosques at Ahmedabad are the Bibi's (1454), the Rani Rupwati (*c.* 1460), the Miyan Khan Chishti (*c.* 1465), the Achut Kuki (1469) and the Muhafiz Khan (1485) mosques. The Jami Mosque (1524) of Champaner an erstwhile capital ranked as the finest in Gujarat architecturally, is another magnificent building. Of the other 16th century mosques the most outstanding are the moderately sized Rani Sarai (commonly but wrongly spelt as Sipari or Sabarai) Mosque (1514), described as the gem of Ahmedabad and the world-famous Sidi Said's (wrongly spelt as Sayyid's) Mosque (1572), also at Ahmedabad, whose seven perforated stone-screens filled with floral and geometrical patterns of unusual character and almost super-human workmanship have been justly acclaimed world over. In Tomb-architecutre, Gujarat has a few impressive monuments of sufficient architectural interest such as Azam Muzzam's and Darya Khan's Tombs at Ahmedabad in brick and Qutb-i-Alam's at nearby Vatwa and Mubarak Bukhari's at Mahmudabad in stone.

The Malwa style, unlike Gujarat, is essentially arcuate, some of whose features like battering wall, pointed arch with bud fringe, arch-and-lintel, etc., were borrowed from the Tughluq monuments. Among the earliest buildings of Malwa, the Lat Mosque (1405) at Dhar is in the trabeate style of the period of improvisation. The later buildings at Mandu are particularly remarkable for their impressive size, high plinths and pleasing scheme of ornament including colourful decoration. Of these, the Jami Mosque is the largest and most impressive

The Tomb of Hoshang Shah Ghori (*d.* 1435), a magnificent edifice of white marble, laid the norm of Tomb-design in Malwa of which Darya Khan's Tomb at Mandu and Shahzadi's at Chanderi are other notable specimens. The building art of the last phase in Malwa, reflecting the prevalent life of pleasure and luxury, was mainly confined to the creation of magnificant palaces whose very names like Hindola Mahal, Jahaz Mahal, Baz Bahadur's Palace (*c.* 1500-1511), Rupmati's Pavilion, Nilkanth's Palace, etc., all at Mandu, conjure up romantic memories. The waterpalace of Kaliadeh near Ujjain (*c.* 1500) is another such building. The Kushak-Mahal at Chanderi, though devoid of its original self, yet retains sufficient architectural character.

Like Malwa, the Jaunpur or Sharqi style was also influenced by the Tughluq style. In the few Sharqi buildings that have survived at Jaunpur, Banaras, Etawa and Kannauj comprising mosques, the arcuate and the trabeate systems are employed side by side. But the most typical feature of these buildings is their extremely bold and forceful character expressed through the huge imposing pylon-lace screens of their facade. Though architecturally, they do not merge happily with the rest of the building, these pylons consisting of lofty recessed arches framed in tapering square towers are by themselves monuments of great magnificence and appeal. Of all these mosques, the Atala, the Jami and the Lal-Darwaza at Jaunpur are the largest and the most impressive.

In the Deccan, the only surviving pre-Bahmani monument of note is the Mosque in Daulatabad Fort, in Maharashtra, built in trabeate style. But of the Bahmani's we have a large number of monuments at Gulbarga, Bidar and elsewhere, which drew inspiration in the early stage from the Tughluq style and later on from the building art of Persia, though basically they retained their Indian character. Built entirely in the arcuate style, the Bahmani buildings are marked by grandeur of conception and structural soundness. The large Jami Mosque at Gulbarga (1367) in particular is an unusual building marked by originality of conception in that the courtyard of this orthodox-plan mosque is covered in line with the side arcades. The seven royal Tombs at Gulbarga and twelve at Bidar are massive square halls surmounted by single large domes. The most outstanding Tomb of Gulbarga is that of Firuz Shah (d. 1422), while the finest at Bidar is that of Ahmad Shah I (d. 1436),

which is particularly remarkable for the lavish decoration of its iterior wrought in paintings in variegated bright hues in different media. Two buildings of this phase, the Chand Minar at Daulatabad (15th century) and the Madrasa of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan at Bidar (1472) are almost exclusively Persian in style.

Of the five successors of the Bahmanis, the Imad Shahi and the Barid Shahi had shorter spells of authority. The only outstanding monuments of the former are partially fallen Jami Mosque at Gawilgarh and the Mahakali Gateway of the Narnala Fort, both in Vidarbha region of Maharashtra. At Bidar, under the Barid Shahis were erected a fairly good number of tombs and mosques. Among the latter are the Jami Mosque, the Mosque attached to the Tomb of Ali Barid (d. 1579) and the Kali-Masjid, while the important tombs are those of Ali Barid, which is the finest of the group, Qasim Barid II (d. 1591), Khan Jahan (*c.* 1553) and Chand Sultans. These tombs are either open on sides or usual closed-hall type. Among the mosques, the Kali-Masjid is of pleasing proportions and wood-like workmanship.

The building art of Ahmadnagar under the Nizam Shahis (15th-17th centuries) has certain features common with those of the Imad Shahi buildings, but its most distinctive features are the fine quality of the building material and the flying arch of its mosques—a large or small arch thrown across the front parapet above and spanning the flat roof. Some notable building of the Nizam Shahis are the Tombs of Ahmad Shah (d. 1510), Rumi Khan, Sarza Khan, popularly known as Do-Boti Chira Tomb (*c.* 1561) and Salabat Khan (d. 1588), the Farah-Bagh (1583) and the small but pretty Damdi Mosque, all at Ahmadnagar and the Tombs of Malik Ambar and Zachcha-Bachcha at Khuldabad near Daulatabad and the picturesque mosque and Tomb of Dilawar Khan at Khed near Poona (Pune).

But the most mature phase of Deccan Architecture is represented by the building art of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur (16th-17th centuries) and the Qutb Shahis of Golconda (16th-17th centuries). Under these two ruling houses, large-scale building activities took place at their capitals and a large number of palaces, tombs, mosques, etc., of great architectural merit were constructed. The Adil Shahi style retained the earlier grandness of conception but at the same time introduced new features like the bulbous dome, almost spherical in shape with its drum

concealed within a band of conventional petals, graceful tall and slender minarets and finials, richly brought ornamental parapets with small minars topped by miniature tombs, boldly projecting cornics on richly carved brackets and the like. Equally typical of the style is the richness and variety of its ornament in stone as well as stucco displaying a highly artistic taste. Among the notable monuments of Bijapur are the Jami, the Zanjiri and the Mihtar-Mahal mosques at Bijapur and a mosque at Lakshmeshwar in Karnataka. The culmination of the style is however, seen in the Ibrahim Rauza group of Tomb and Mosque (*c.* 1627), of which the former in particular is architecturally pronounced as perfect as a building could be in structural, technical and ornamental details. Equally impressive and celebrated is the magnificent Gol-Gumbad (before 1656) a lasting monument to the structural skill of Bijapur architects. Its gigantic hall is roofed by an equally gigantic dome at the base of which internally runs the overhanging Whispering Gallery. Despite such huge dimensions, the proportionate blending of different parts of this large mass and the marvellous technique of its dome-support bespeak the creative genius and gifted imagination of its unknown architect and builder.

The architectural style of the Qutab Shahis has a close affinity with that of Bijapur. Its distinctive features are highly ornamental facade, exclusively stucco—or cust-paster-decoration, massive ornamental minars with galleries and turnipshaped domes with elongated nacks. The entire city of Hyderabad which now includes Golconda, is dotted with monuments, palaces, gateways, mosques and tombs. The best specimens of Tomb-architecture are provided by the Royal Tombs at Golconda, quite a few of which are considerably large in size. The most outstanding among these is the Tomb of Muhammad Quli (d. 1612), a magnificent building erected on a double terrace and capped with a single majestic dome having three galleries in the interior. Among mosques, the most impressive are the Jami (1597) the Murshirabad, the Toli (1671) and the Mecca (started in 1617). Mosques. each of which has sufficient architectural appeal and merit. But the most spectacular perhaps of the Outb Shahi monuments is the majestic portal. Char-Minar of Hyderabad. Grand in conception and perfect in workmanship. this massive open-sided hall with four graceful minars at corners forms the landmark of the city as well the style.

In the Khandesh region between Malwa. Guiarat and the. Deccan. the towns of Thalner in Maharashtra and Burhanpur

and Asirgarh in Madhya Pradesh have some interesting monuments. The few tombs that have survived at Thalner, the first capital of the region's Faruqi rulers, have several distinct stylistic features which are quite interesting. Of particular interest is the octagonal Tomb. Of the buildings of Burhanpur, the most impressive are the Jami (1589) and the Bibi Mosques, the Idgah and the Adil Shahi Tombs. The Jami Mosque (1588) in the hill-fort of Asirgarh is also quite interesting.

The architectural style in the northern most Kashmir is strikingly different; the building material here is timber, which along with Buddhist influence, determined the style. The Mughals no doubt built a few buildings in stone. However, the earliest extant Islamic building of Kashmir, the Tomb of Sultan Zainul-Abidin's mother (15th century) is curiously enough, neither in timber nor in stone but in brick and is decidedly Perso-Central Asian. The typical wooden architecture of Kashmir is represented in tombs and mosques which are more or less similar in design and general appearance. The most notable of these monuments are the Shah Hamadan and the Jami Mosques at Srinagar and the Jami Mosque at Pampur.

It was, however, left to the Mughal emperors to bring about a universal Indian style of Islamic architecture. Minor regional variations apart, their buildings throughout the country have a distinctly common style characterised by imposing facades with high semi-domed alcoves—a large one in the centre and a series of two or more smaller ones on the sides—of four-centred arches, deeply recessed arches, shouldered roofs, vaults of intersecting arches, bulbous domes with constricted necks and inverted lotus tops, pinnacles and pilasters, ornament in stone or marble carving, inlay or *pietra dura* and gilding and the like.

The architectural style, however, of the buildings of the time of Babur (1526-30) and Humayun (1530-40 and 1555-56) and of the early period of Akbar (1556-1605) are the continuation of the Sayyid-Lodi-Sur style. The first building in the real Mughal style is the large impressive Humayun's Tomb (1565-66) at Delhi. It represents the first of the Mughal Garden-tombs and the first building on Indian soil in the typical Timurid design. Somewhat akin to it is the Tomb of Atga Khan (1566-67); it is much smaller but its lavish inlay and low relief carving is of a high quality.

Akbar caused to be constructed a large number of buildings at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Allahabad, Lahore and elsewhere. His buildings, mostly in red sandstone with limited use of marble, have a judicious mixture of purely indigenous and foreign forms. The central theme of his buildings is the use of trabeate system, though arcuate forms do occur. The pillarshafts are generally multi-sided and have ornate basis and voluted bracket capitals. The ornament consists of inlay or stone or marble carving, perforated stone-screen work and artistically painted designs in gold and other bright colours.

The most spectacular extant buildings of Akbar are at Fatehpur Sikri. These include the Panch-Mahal, the Palace of Jodha Bai and the so-called Houses of Maryam, Turkish Sultana and Raja Birbal, of varying sizes and designs. While each of these has a distinct architectural flavour and beauty of its own, the Turkish Sultana complex and Birbal's House in particular are perhaps the richest, the most beautiful and the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings. Other distinguished buildings at Fatehpur Sikri are the Diwan-i-Khas with its unusual interior, the magnificent Jami Mosque (1571-72) with the pretty and elegant Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti and the mighty Baland-Darwaza—the monumental gateway, which is dominently Persian in form and design.

The Mughal architecture under Jahangir (1605-27) maintained the above style but not without losing some of its force and vitality. He completed his father's Tomb (1612-13) at Sikandra near Agra. The most arresting feature of this tomb is its unusual form. Its imposing gateway with four minars at corners is in striking contrast with the pyramidal mass of the Tomb proper rising in five stages. A less known but beautiful monument of considerable architectural appeal of this period is the Tomb of Shah Daulat (1616) at Maner near Patna, which reflects the robust and forceful style of Akbar's buildings. Another very important building of this period is the Tomb of Itimadud-Daula (1626) at Agra. In this elegant marble building, remarkable for its design and lavish inlay decoration alike, the style assumes a delicate and refined character anticipating the highly ornate style of Shah Jahan's buildings. One more monument constructed in this period is the Tomb of Khan-i-Khanan at Delhi, similar in design to Humayun's Tomb but without corner chambers, forming a link between it and the Taj-Mahal.

The Mughal building art reached its zenith under Shah Jahan the great builder (1628-58). He beautified the capital cities of Agra and Delhi with splendid palaces and mosques and constructed numerous buildings at Ajmer, Lahore, Srinagar, Ahmedabad, etc. The style acquired a singular prettiness and elegance accentuated by the use of white marble. It is further characterised by the engrailed or cusped arches, supporting columns not frequently double, with multi-sided and at times tapering shafts, and voluted bases and capitals, the characteristic-Mughal dome of pleasing design and graceful contour, and lavish decoration in carving and artistic inlay of precious stones in marble. Of his numerous impressive buildings in the Agra Fort, the Moti-Masjid (1655) has been rightly acclaimed as one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere.

Shah Jahan's majestic Red Fort (1648) at Delhi has likewise palatial buildings in the usual ornate style. The magnificent but comparatively plain Jami Mosque (1656) of Delhi, is, despite its vast size, remarkable for the architectural skill with which its different parts have been balanced and blended together to form a homogenous whole of rare beauty and appeal. The Jami Mosque of Agra (1648) built by Shah Jahan's daughter Jahan Ara is another monument of considerable architectural merit.

But the great architectural achievement of Shah Jahan is the Taj-Mahal. Apart from its romantic appeal, this Garden-Tomb is a masterpiece of architectural style in conception, treatment and execution, all alike, which display consumate engineering skill, perfect building technique and high aesthetic sense. Its tall main chamber with lofty wide large and small alcoves, four minars standing majestically at the corners of the terrace, the perfectly shaped central dome resting on a high drum with four surrounding cupolas, all these have been combined to form a perfect composition of stunning beauty. The dream-like effect of the Taj is enhanced by its chaste white marble of pure grain and lavish embellishment in the form of delicate and refined surface decoration of carving and *pietra dura.*

The golden era of Mughal architecture practically ended with the exit of Shah Jahan from the political scene and a distinct degeneration in architectural forms and designs set in. The notable buildings of the post-Shah Jahan period are the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore in Pakistan (1674), the Tomb of Rabia Daurani at Aurangabad (1661), the tiny Moti Masjid in the Delhi Red Fort (1659-60) and a few mosques of moderate size at

places like Aurangabad, Ellichpur, etc. The Tomb of Rabia Daurani, though by all account the finest Mughal monument in Deccan, suffers badly in comparison with Taj Mahal to which it closely resembles in plan and general form, particularly due to its crowded sky-line and lack of proportion between the various parts.

The last great monument of the Mughal period is the Tomb of Safdar Jang (*c.* 1753) at Delhi. The last of the Garden-Tomb series, it has, apart from four engaged turrets with kiosks at the corners, all the usual architectural elements of a Mughal tomb. But it does suffer in comparison with the earlier Mughal tombs. Nevertheless, it is a monument of sufficient architectural appeal.

Though the late Indian architecture did not attain earlier heights, the types and forms evolved by Mughal architecture were adopted in the 17th-18th century buildings. It is no wonder therefore that during the closing days of the Mughal reign, a number of buildings were built in the outlaying independent principalities like Oudh, Hyderabad and Mysore. Some of these, to name only a few like the Imambara with its large hall and massive ornate Rumi-Darwaza, and the Jami Mosque, an imposing structure of considerable size, at Lucknow, several mosques in Hyderabad and the Tomb of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan popularly called Gumbad-i-Ala and the mosque attached to it near Seringapatnam and the Masjid-i-Ala, built by Tipu Sultan in Seringapatnam are quite impressive and not without architectural pretensions.

MODERN TRENDS IN INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

V. P. Raori
R. Bahadur

The advent and growth of modern Architecture in India is a comparatively recent phenomenon dating back to Indian Independence and the partition of India. Large scale transfers of population and influx of refugees led to a sudden spurt in the pace of urbanisation all over India, highlighting suddenly the role of architects and planners on the Indian scene from a position in which they were virtually unkown.

The present day generation of Indian architects owes allegiance to the tenets of the modern movement by training and background in western standards in Indian as well as foreign institutions. In addition, they have been exposed to the work of some of the pioneers of the movement like Le Corbusier in Chandigarh and later on to the work of Louis Kahn in Ahmedabad and Dacca. These are powerful influences and yet the profession in India cannot for obvious reasons be a part of the mainstream of the modern movement. Alternatively, although giant strides have been taken towards the development of strong regional characteristics, these have failed to evoke a corresponding recognition and response in the national milieu.

This is probably due to a break in the living tradition of architecture during the period of British rule when apart from a few notable exceptions typified by the work of Lutyens and Baker in New Delhi and the development of an Indo-British residential architecture of sorts in respect of climate and building materials, there was virtually no attempt at a cultural synthesis.

Large chunks of our metropolitan cities, hill stations, civil lines and cantonment areas were built either as nostalgic reproductions of the home environments of the ruling elite or even sometimes as gross incongruities as can be seen today in the example of the army barracks in Delhi's Red Fort. As a result of this, a sizeable section of our urban elite influenced by these environments of yester year have displayed a seemingly incomprehensible communication gap in their dealings as clients with architects impeding the progress of their work in terms of design achievement.

But this is only a part of the story. Architecture today is concerned not so much with building facades and fashions for opulent living or the whims and dictates of a ruling elite in an era of growing demand and increasing shortages in the availability of land and building materials, as with the basic demands of shelter and the provision of a congenial living and working environment for the vast majority of our urban and rural inhabitants.

The building of Chandigarh and in particular its capital complex probably stands as a last will and testament of the grand heroic order reminiscent somewhat of Moghul splendour in Fatehpur Sikri and later the imperial British order in the capital in New Delhi. Its successors today are the commercial monumentalism of skyscrapers and multistoreyed buildings or the wide spectrum of large and medium size projects being commissioned by Central and State Government agencies, private and public sector industries and undertakings, local authorities, Development Corporations and Housing Cooperatives.

Some of this work reflects in isolation high standards of achievement in design and execution in the domains of group housing, educational campuses, commercial and recreational complexes and tourism oriented architecture, in spite of the obvious handicaps in the availability and choice of building materials and a lack of sophistication in building techniques due to a largely labour intensive building industry. In addition, Indian architects, engineers and building organisations have also been able to operate successfully in the highly competitive market in the middle east.

But all this work and expertise is beset with a certain amount of contradiction and incongruity in the context of socio-economic realities and environmental considerations. Monopolistic speculation in land values by Government and semi-government agencies and development without infrastructure are the bane of the present day condition of development. Multistoreyed office buildings with traffic and parking overflows, inadequate lift cores, an unreliable power and water supply situation and power maintenance overload the sewage and drainage network of surrounding areas.

Seaside residential skyscrapers stand cheek by jowl in utter disregard of privacy with a foreground of squatters slums originally built as temporary accommodation for the construction workers. Posh residential areas exist side by side with jhuggi jhompri

dwellers using neighbourhood parks and recreation spaces a open air toilets.

The resolution of these conflicts lies by and large in th sphere of political decision making and the socio-economic polic formulations of the Government. But architects, urban designer and planners can certainly perform the function of indicating range of Development Strategies from which the correct choice can be made, provided of course that the role of professionals properly appreciated by Government, semi-government an private development agencies who have procedures at the mo ment for dealing with only salaried employees or building con tractors. There are some signs now that some eminent leader in the profession are taking up this matter in a dialogue at th appropriate level. In the field, increasing attention is being paid by select groups of professionals, teachers and students to th problems of squatters settlements and the unintended city, lo cost housing and Rural Development Programmes.

Dovetailing into these are programmes for utilisation of sola wind and bio energy as integral parts of building complexes an urban ecosystems, on the basis of world-wide research and tech nical information available in the context of the global crises environmental pollution and the depletion of fossil fuel reserve Also in awareness of these massive programmes and the growin needs of the building industry, there is a concerted move in th field of architectural education to encourage research and develop ment in building science, contract management and allied enviro mental studies for a proper feed back into the architectural desig process.

Another comparatively recent trend is an interest in the re examination of the traditional city environment for its compac ness and economies in space standards and energy consumptio viable and congenial social fabric, a blending of residential an commercial uses in bustling streets and chowks sheltered fro the extremes of inclement weather, with a view to conservatio improvement and adaptation in new developments.

And finally in a broad summary of architectural trends i India, as elsewhere in the world, changes in family structur requirements of flexibility, growth and change in human livi and working conditions have given birth to complex structure and incremental growth forms in place of the finite build volumes and simple geometry of earlier days and the environmen

context or relationship to an existing urban or rural fabric are as valid for the determination of urban form as pure function.

The establishment of recognizable norms and acceptable idiom in the language of architectural form and visual expression for a movement can come only after an initial period of trial and experimentation.

It is gratifying to note that for Indian architecture, after a period of uncertainty and turmoil, the dangers and pitfalls of obscurantism and a slavish imitation of the past have by and large been set aside. The work of Correa, Kanvinde, Stein and Doshi and a host of young architects in Delhi, Ahmedabad and Bombay is gaining wide acceptance and recognition.

The inception of the twin city in Bombay, growth of I.I.T. Campuses in Kanpur and Delhi, public appreciation of complexes like Gandhi Darshan Sangrahalaya in Ahmedabad and the permanent exhibition structures in Pragati Maidan in Delhi are recognisable events of the National Scene.

The progress chart of the modern movement in India after a series of ups and downs is now fast approaching a plateau.

It is hoped that with the gradual elimination of an elitist bias and the widening of its base of operations for meeting the basic needs and aspirations of Indian society, the crises of identity in Indian Architecture will slowly dissolve to give birth to a new cultural synthesis.

MGIPF—153Edu/82—3-9-82—400

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PED. 542

400—1982 (DSK. II).

Price : — In land Rs. 15/-
Foreign [illegible] 1.86 or $ 5-76 Cents

PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, FARIDA[illegible]
AND PUBLISHED BY THE CONTROLLER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 19[illegible]

To
Prof. B. N. Puri
With affectionate regards
from P. N. Masaldan

N. E. L. P.
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Lecture Series

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Jawaharlal Nehru's Foreign Policy : Determinants, Principles and Conduct

✲

By
Dr. P. N. Masaldan

Nagpur University
Nagpur
1977.

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Jawaharlal Nehru's Foreign Policy : Determinants, Principles and Conduct

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I feel grateful to the authorities of the University of Nagpur for inviting me to deliver the year's Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lectures. I feel doubly honoured by this invitation; because it is an invitation from an old and established university, and because of the greatness of the man to pay homage to whose memory I have been invited to deliver these lectures.

Jawaharlal Nehru is a fascinating and inspiring subject of study. It is both easy and difficult to speak or write about him. His personality, like a well-cut diamond, had many lustrous facets. Several volumes of his public speeches, besides his own writings, are available. A large number of books have already been written about him. All this literature provides the student necessary material for his study of Nehru. Nevertheless, it is difficult to speak or write about a man whose thought and work related not to any one field of life but covered practically all the important areas of our national life. One has also to be very careful in understanding the ideas, aims and work of a great man, and in interpreting them in a correct and fair manner.

Of all possible subjects relating to his life and work open to me, I have selected Nehru's foreign policy as the theme of my lectures for two reasons. Firstly, because Nehru was most in his elements and high form while dealing with foreign affairs; and secondly, because no other area of his work in the sphere of government was as completely identified with him personally as that of foreign policy. If I can contribute a little to the appreciation of Nehru's work and achievements in this important field, I shall consider myself amply rewarded.

I propose to deal in my lectures with the determinants, principles and conduct of Nehru's foreign policy.

I

A government's policies are evolved and formulated during any given period of time in a particular context constituted by the historical, cultural, social and economic background and situation. The general situation, if I may use the phrase for this broad context, goes a long way in defining concrete goals and priorities. In the field of foreign policy the context acquires some additional dimensions, namely, the character of international society and the geopolitical position of the country. The conscious, basic, aim of all policies, internal and external, is, however, the same $\frac{1}{\mu}$ the promotion of the good of the people of the country or the national interest. What, in more concrete terms, is to be regarded as this good or interest of the nation will depend upon the knowledge, ideals or values, the experience and wisdom, of the persons who during a given period occupy positions of power in the State. All the factors which influence and condition the determination of policy are called the "determinants" of the policy. Looked at from a slightly different angle, they are sometimes called the "bases" or "sources" of the policy.

The above postulates have to be applied to an examination of our own country's foreign policy as it was enunciated and shaped by Jawaharlal Nehru who was not only the first Foreign Minister of independent India but also its Prime Minister and combined the office for an unusually long period of 17 years. His influence on the initial shaping of our foreign policy was predominant also because he was looked upon by the ruling party, and by his country-men in general, as easily the best available guide in the sphere of international

politics. This view of his competence derived from the fact that, of all the stalwarts of the nationalist movement, his interest in world affairs had been the most keen and the longest. India's foreign policy, therefore, was, in a special sense, Nehru's foreign policy.

Taking up the historical background, as a determinant of Nehru's foreign policy, we need not dwell much on the ancient period of our history, although Nehru himself was quite fond of referring to the 'three thousand years' or even 'five thousand years' of India's history, and had a knowledge of history and an awareness of its importance rare among our leaders. Delivering the Azad Memorial Lecture in 1959, Nehru said, "India today is the outcome not only of the immediate past, but also of the thousands of years of the long story of our country."[1] Nehru, as also some other leaders, took inspiration from the example of the Buddha and his royal follower, Emperor Ashoka. Nehru admitted this more than once in his speeches and writings. In November, speaking at the civic reception accorded to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, Nehru said, "Peaceful co-existence is not a new idea for us in India.....About 2,200 years ago, a great son of India, Ashoka, proclaimed it and inscribed it on rock and stone, which exist today and give us the message."[2] Talking to a leading Indian journalist just a few months before his death, Nehru again said, "Ashoka's edicts provide the basis of our philosophy of peaceful co-existence.....we cannot escape this glorious legacy from our past, and so our ideology springs from the very sources of our history and civilization. Gandhiji distilled this philosophy and approach into a most effective strategy of political action, which, broadly speaking, we seek in our modest way to expound both in our domestic and foreign policies."[3]

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1. India and the World (Azad Memorial Lectures), Allied, New Delhi, p. 2.
2. J. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, Publications Division, Government of India, 1961, p. 101.
3. Karanjia, R. K. : The Philosophy of Mr. Nehru, Allen and Unwin, London, 1966, p. 44.

Thus, the heroes of our ancient history were invoked by Nehru to establish that India had a long tradition of abhorrence of violence and war, and an abiding faith in peaceful methods.

The modern history of the country has more materially affected the framing of Nehru's foreign policy. Prior to 1947, India was under British rule for about two hundred years, if we consider 1757 (the Battle of Plassey) as the date which marked the establishment of British supremacy over the greater part of India. The Indian people had to struggle for their freedom that was won under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi by non-violent methods, such as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, boycott of British goods. There was nothing like an Indian foreign policy, India's foreign relations being controlled by the Imperial Government in London. India had beeen involved in two World Wars because Britain was a belligerent and not because of a decision freely taken by India's representative leaders. When India became independent in 1947, it thus had no legacy of friendly or inimical relations with other countries of the world; and it had no diplomatic service, and little experience of conducting diplomatic relations, or diplomacy. For at least ten years before 1947, the relations between the two major religious communities of India, Hindus and Muslims, were fouled by a feeling of acute animosity, a feeling which had been fanned by certain vested interests belonging to the upper crusts of the two communities, and the machination of a very large section of the imperial rulers of the country. Independence, as a consequence, was accompanied by the partition of the country and the birth of Pakistan, although even after partition the Muslims in India constituted the second largest community, and India had, and has, one of the largest Muslim populations in the world.

It is when we come to the economic conditions of our country at the time of independence that we find a very dismal picture. After partition, India had a population of about 35

crores, with an annual rate of growth of about 1.3 per cent.[1] About 70 per cent of the population was dependent on agriculture. In 1948-49 the per capita income of the country, at current prices, was Rs. 249.6.[2] Thus the era of India's independence began with widespread poverty of an abysmal kind, with the country dependent on imports for nearly all its requirements of industrial goods, military hardware, and frequently also for supply of massive quantity of food grains.

The international situation when Nehru began to give shape to our foreign policy was also not a good one. The Second World War was over in 1945 but soon thereafter the two greatest powers, the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union, had fallen out as a result of mutual suspicion caused by a conflict of interests and ideology. There was a desire on the part of each of these two powers to expand its own sphere of influence in the world and to contain that of the rival. This was the Cold War in which both the sides were seeking allies and supporters. For about ten years after 1945, the Cold War grew more and more acute and brought about several serious crises threatening international peace.

Such was the situation in India and the world in the context of which our foreign policy had to be forged. But, unavoidably, Nehru's own beliefs and outlook had also a significant influence on the moulding of his foreign policy so that a consideration of his ideas is essential here. It is believed that after the death of Sardar Patel in 1950, there was no one left among the Indian leaders who could moderate Nehru's thinking on, and approach to, political questions, domestic or foreign. As we proceed with our analysis and appraisal of his foreign policy, the great impact on it of Nehru's values and general beliefs will become evident.

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1. Census Report, 1951.
2. Central Statistical Organisation : Estimate of National Income 1948-49 to 1961-62 (1963).

What were these ideals, aspirations and assumptions of the man who played such an outstanding role in shaping our foreign policy ? We must know particularly the ideas and views which dominated Nehru's mind during the first few years of his assuming the reins of power. Many of these views, of course, he stuck to right up to the end of his days, despite the great strain on his convictions and philosophy of international relations caused by some of the vicissitudes of world politics that he experienced during the last few years of his life.

Nehru's intense dislike for, and opposition to, imperialism, colonialism and racialism was natural and well-known, as also his belief in socialism. He had played such a leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle of his own country. His mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, had personally suffered indignities at the hands of racists in South Africa and waged a non-violent struggle against the evil policies of the South African Government. Nehru had attended in February, 1927, twenty years before Indian independence, the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Brussels and his participation in the Congress and the contacts he made there had influenced him much.[1] His contacts with the leaders of other Asian and African countries increased his interest in the nationalist movements in these countries. It is interesting to find that even at this Congress, held in February, 1927, a joint declaration was made by the delegates of India and China which referred to the cultural ties which had united the two countries for more than 3000 years and emphasised the need for their revival. In 1927, Nehru also visited Moscow for a few days to attend the celebrations of the 10th Anniversary of the October Revolution. Even at that time, he was aware of the importance for India of what was happening in the Soviet Union. He was very much impressed by what he saw there, although he admitted that he did not admire every

1. Bimla Prasad : The Origins of Indian Foreign Policy, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 73.

thing about the Soviet Union.[1] As the conflict between the fascist forces and the Soviet Union developed during the 1930's, Nehru came out definitely and clearly on the side of the Soviet Union. In his Presidential address to the Lucknow Session of the Congress, held in April, 1936, he said, "We see the world divided into two vast groups today—the imperialists and fascists on one side, the socialists and nationalists on the other... Inevitably we take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are ranged against fascism and imperialism."[2]

When India achieved independence in 1947 and Nehru became its Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, he started with certain fixed notions about the nature of the existing international society and about India's role in world affairs. Nehru had not only a profound consciousness of history but also took adequate note of the influence of geography. During the early, formative, years of his stewardship of independent India's foreign policy and relations, we find him mentioning, again and again, the pivotal position in Asia assigned to India by geography. In September, 1946, he said, "India is so situated that she is the pivot of Western, Southern and South-East Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries. . .Those contacts are being renewed and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and South-East Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world on the other."[3] In March, 1949, in a speech before the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), he said, "Look at the map. If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India."[4] About the same time, in another speech, he said, "By virtue of her practical position and other reasons, India is bound to play an important part in Asia."[5] A sense of geography, as much

1. Ibid, pp. 82-83.
2. Ibid, pp. 112-113.
3, 4 & 5. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, The Publications Division Government of India, 1961, pp. 3, 22, 43.

as that of history, made Nehru aware also of the great importance of maintaining good relations with China and the Soviet Union. Soon after assuming power Nehru said, "China, that mighty country with a mighty past, our neighbour, has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow."[1] Also, "To.....the Soviet Union.....we send our greetings. They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much do with each other."[2]

Nehru also had great faith in India's future role as an important force in world affairs in general. He thought that was India's mission and destiny. In November, 1948, he said, "The freedom that has come to India inevitably leads India to play an important part in world affairs. It is an inevitable consequence of what India is and what a free India must be .....I rather quake at the great responsibilities that are being thrust upon us."[3] He also said, in 1948, that India's weight had increased in the unofficial councils outside, if not in the official council of the United Nations. "Why is this so ?" he asked, and said, "Because, progressively, people see that within the United Nations things are done far from the idealistic, moral way, or in terms of the underdog, the smaller nations, or the Asian nations. Therefore, more and more of these people try to find someone else and in their search for someone else who might perhaps give a lead in these matters, almost automatically their eyes turn upon India."[4] Next year again, he talks of "the inevitability of India playing an important part by virtue of her tremendous potential..... the fact that she is the biggest political unit in terms of population today and is likely to be in terms of her resources also.....that part must essentially be one of promoting peace and freedom in the world, of removing racial inequalities."[5] He knew that this policy of India, "of standing up for the weak and the oppressed in the various continents is not a policy which is to

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1, 2, 3 & 4. Ibid, pp. 3, 18, 34.
5. Ibid, p. 41.

the liking of the great powers who directly or indirectly share in their exploitation."[1]

Concern for the underdog, for international peace, for the freedom movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, was not simply idealism in the view of Nehru. He was conscious of the duty of every national leader and government to protect the country's national interest. But Nehru's broad outlook, his wide perspective, and his sense not only of history but also of future developments in the world, made him usually to interpret the national interest in a manner that it did not conflict with his high principles of internationalism and humanism. According to him, the real difference lay in whether one took a long-term view or a short-term view of the national interest. It is clear from several of his statements that he did fully realise the need for being realistic in dealing with foreign affairs. In December, 1947, he said, "in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short run or the long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country.....Whether a country is imperialistic or socialistic or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country".[2] However, Nehru went on to say, in the same speech, that a narrow national policy is bad for the nation and it is bad internationally because "we lose sight of the ultimate good and thereby endanger our own good. Therefore, we propose to look after India's interests in the context of world co-operation and world peace, in so far as world peace can be preserved".[3] Again, he says, "some people may think of the interests of their country regardless of other consequences, or take a short-distance view. Others may think that in the long-term policy the interest of another country is as important to them as that of their own country."[4] In December, 1950, replying to a

1, 2, 3 & 4. Ibid, pp. 30-31, 28.

debate in Parliament in which some members had alleged that his policy was unrealistic, Nehru affirmed that questions of foreign policy must be approached in a spirit of realism and "idealism alone will not do." He went on to express his view about the difference between idealism and realism in these words : "What exactly is idealism ? .....Idealism is the realism of tomorrow. It is the capacity to know what is good for the day after tomorrow or for the next year and to fashion yourself accordingly. The practical person, the realist, looks at the tip of his nose and sees little beyond; the result is that he is stumbling all the time."[1]

Lastly, he earnestly believed that fear on the part o people and governments, particularly the fear of the inevitability of war, was a dangerous thing because fear led to tensions and strains and a fear of war led to military preparations and created a psychology that brought war nearer. He did not subscribe to the old adage "if you want peace prepare for war"; on the contrary, he believed in the importance of means and so he thought peace could be secured only by peaceful methods and that "no amount of intrigues and cleverness will fetch you good results out of evil ways."[2] He was also a firm believer in the superiority of moral force over military might. His experience of fighting a mighty empire and winning against it by the use of non-violent means supported his belief. He said, "Let us not be frightened too much of the military might of this or that group.....I want to tell the world on behalf of this country that we are not frightened of the military might of this power or that."[3] Speaking in a different context at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African States held in April, 1955, he went so far as to say, "India.....does not presume any military might, but presumes the strength to face any danger whenever it may come.....and even if we have no arms, we will defend ourselves without arms. I am

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1. Ibid, p. 51.
2. C. A. Debates, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 9.
3. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 32.

dead certain that no country can conquer India. Even the two great power blocs together cannot conquer India. Not even the atom or the hydrogen bomb. I know what my people are."[1] Such was the spirit of Nehru and such his faith in the mettle of his people at that time !

Let us now consider on what principles did Nehru, with such values and premises, and in such context of domestic and international situation as we have described, base his foreign policy. Some of these guiding principles were of a positive kind while some of a rather negative nature. India was to support the freedom movements of other Asian and African people who had, like her, been subject to imperialist and colonialist domination. India must do all to promote the prospects of international peace. In fact, the most basic aim was to be the protection of peace in the world as that was considered to be most essential for the furtherance of India's national interest, viz., her economic development which could be carried out only with foreign aid, an aid that would stop if the powers were to get involved in war.

With these considerations in mind, the foremost principle adopted was that of non-alignment with any military bloc. In fact, it would not be wrong to call non-alignment as the foreign policy of independent India under Nehru. Non-alignment was supposed to have many merits. It was essential as much for the protection of India's freedom and dignity as for the creation of an area and climate of peace. It was also necessary that India should not get involved in any war brought about by the Cold War rivalry among the great powers as that would retard India's economic development.

Nehru stressed these points again and again in his speeches. He took pains to explain to his countrymen, and to the world outside, the meaning, rationale, and implications

1. Kahin, G. M. : The Asian-African Conference, Ithaca, N. Y. Cornell, 1956, pp. 64-65.

of non-alignment, and how it differed from neutrality. Soon after the formation of the Interim Government in September, 1946, he declared, "We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which may again lead to disasters on even vaster scale."[1] In March, 1948, speaking before the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), he said that the various ideologies which threatened conflict had been derived from the background of Europe which was different from the background of India and that there was no reason why India should be asked to choose between this ideology or the other *in toto*. "Our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from power alignments, but try to make friendly cooperation possible," he said. He went on to say, "if by any chance we align ourselves definitely with one power group.....I have not the shadow of a doubt that from a larger point of view, not only of India but of world peace, it will do harm. Because then we lose that tremendous vantage ground that we have of using such influence as we possess in the cause of world peace."[2] He believed that in a moment of crisis, "Our peaceful and friendly efforts might make a difference and avert that crisis.....while remaining quite apart from power blocs, we are in a far better position to cast our weight at the right moment in favour of peace."[3] One of the chief merits of non-alignment, according to Nehru, was that it reduced the chances of war by enlarging the area of peace. If the entire world was to be divided up into two hostile blocs, the chances of a conflict between the two blocs would become much greater and, by the same token, if more and more countries stayed out of the hostile military alliances of the powers, the chances of war would be reduced. He said that these blocs would also undermine the United Nations which was still a weak structure.[4] His opposition to military blocs was reinforced by his belief that military alliances were utilised by the western powers for staging the

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1. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 2.

2, 3 & 4. Ibid, pp. 39, 47, 11.

comeback of imperialism in areas which had recently thrown off their yoke.

Nehru admitted during the first two or three years of our independence that India's non-alignment was causing irritation to the great powers and that each of the two blocs suspected it of being closer to the other. He was, however, optimistic about the change in the attitude of the powers towards India. "In the course of two or three years.....India will not only be respected by the major protagonists in the struggle for power, but a large number of the smaller nations.... will probably look to India."[1] Nehru also thought that the annoyance with India displayed by the great powers was due not so much to its policy of non-alignment as to the fact of its anti-imperialist record and its championing of the cause of the weaker nations, the exploited, and the underdog.

Nehru explained that to be non-aligened with any of the hostile military blocs was not the same thing as being neutral. Non-alignment was something positive. It meant that India would follow an independent policy and would decide its stand on each issue on merits and, of course, in consonance with its own national interest. But she would not remain indifferent or apathetic to the great issues of the times. Addressing the American Congress in October, 1949, Nehru affirmed, "We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."[2]

Non-alignment was desirable, so Nehru said, even for our narrow material interest. That way, we could obtain economic aid from countries of both the blocs. "Even in

1. Ibid, 27.
2. Ibid, 591.

accepting economic help or in getting political help", he said, "it is not a wise policy to put all our eggs in one basket."[1]

Although Nehru was not unconscious that non-alignment might possibly not suit the circumstances of every country, his enthusiasm for the principle went on increasing, and he sometimes forgot that he himself had conceded that some countries might, because of their circumstances, not be in a position to observe non-alignment. In March, 1948, he said, "I can understand some of the smaller countries of Europe or some of the smaller countries of Asia, being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater powers and becoming practically satellites of those powers, because they cannot help it."[2] Even for India, he said, there could be limitations on the pursuit of its policy "because we cannot pursue it whole-heartedly."[3]

To the basic principle of non-alignment, an embellishment was added in the form of the Panch-sheel which were incorporated in the Indo-Chinese Agreement of April, 1954 about Tibet. These five principles mentioned in the preamble to the Agreement were : mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. There was nothing quite new about these things as they were generally covered by the U. N. Charter. The main objective perhaps was to bind China to follow a policy of non-aggression and peaceful co-existence.

One of the features of Nehru's foreign policy which characterised it like a principle was his constant support, moral and diplomatic, to nationalist movements in other countries and his opposition to the domination of one race by another. This attitude towards imperialism stemmed from his deep

1. Ibid, p. 35.
2. Ibid, p. 32.
3. Ibid, p. 31.

belief in human freedom and his abhorrence of subjugation of man by man. Also, he believed, imperialist domination and exploitation led to tension and conflict and so created a climate of war.

One other feature of Nehru's foreign policy, though perhaps it cannot properly be included among the 'principles' may be mentioned here, and that is the retention of the Commonwealth tie after India became a Republic in 1950. He was in favour of continuing in the Commonwealth because of several reasons. It did not firstly, compromise in any way India's independence and freedom of action while preventing India, in the early years of its independence, from getting completely isolated. It was, he said, not a question of joining a new group but retaining the connection with an established group whose nature had changed. There was nothing harmful or objectionable in retaining the Commonwealth tie. It was positively beneficial from several points of view. It gave India a better chance to influence the larger policies of the Commonwealth countries in matters of common interest. It created goodwill because several countries in the Commonwealth wanted India to continue its association. Making a plea before the Constituent Assembly on May 16, 1949, Nehru said, "In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work.....it is not a safe thing to encourage to break up any association that one has. Break up the evil parts of this; break up anything that may come in the way of your growth.... otherwise apart from breaking the evil parts of the association, it is better to keep a cooperative association going which may do good in this world rather than break it."[1] In later years also Nehru defended membership of the Commonwealth. In 1960 he said, "one important factor about the Commonwealth association is that it reverses the other process of military or economic blocking together for what might be called the purposes of the 'Cold War'. It has certain warmth of approach about it.....There may be differences. There are.

1. C. A. Debates, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 7.

Nevertheless, the overall approach to such controversies is a friendly one which helps to tone down friction and difficulties. That, I think, is all to the good, and a development worthy to be followed in other, larger spheres also."[1]

I propose now to examine the general assessment of the main principles of Nehru's foreign policy made by the theoreticians of International Relations and by the statesmen of the world.

The basic or core policy enunciated by Nehru was non-alignment. The critical theoreticians, some of whom persist in the use of the word 'neutralism' rather than 'non-alignment', say that non-alignment was based on wrong assumptions about the nature of international politics and the role and importance of moral idealism in the sphere of international politics. Nehru seemed to believe, according to these critics, that it was his doctrine of non-alignment, which, by increasing the area of peace, contributed to the prevention of war between the great powers. This was a mistaken belief because, the critics say, it was really the balance of power, or of terror, which kept the great powers away from war. The balance of power provided an equilibrium, and the balance was maintained by the building up of the military might of the Western powers and not by Nehru's moral ideals. Without the Western powers' effort, the Communist bloc might have brought more areas and more peoples under its domination. Nehru's non-alignment and his efforts at mediation were possible only under conditions of such an equilibrium created by the Western powers. India herself remained protected by the overall power balance without having to enter into an alliance, unlike the smaller nations which can be over-run in no time, should they not go in, in advance, for some kind of collective defence. India can keep her hands clean of what she considers the undesirable game of alliances because others are doing the

1. R. K. Karanjia : The Mind of Mr. Nehru, London, Allen and Unwin, 1960, p. 90.

"dirty work" from which she also profits. In the absence of an effective and reliable system of collective security, the balance of power alone can safeguard world peace. The critics welcome India's policy of non-alignment but only as a supplement to and not as a substitute for, the balance of power. These theoreticians also accuse Indian intellectuals of subordinating their objectivity to their patriotism, and of wrongly presenting "the role of India in such a way that it is almost impossible to reconcile Indian and western policies." De Rusett says that the Indian intellectuals "create an anti-thesis between India's community-building behaviour and the West's pursuit of power balancing. They justify the former by reference to first principles of ideal conduct and this inevitably leads them to condemn the latter for it does not fit in with such first principles."[1]

The critics also fail to appreciate the great importance and moral value given by Nehru to the giving up of fear. They point out that what was possible for India because of her comparatively better power position might not be possible for smaller states to emulate. In one of his conversations with Nehru in March, 1951, the well-known American publicist on International Affairs, Norman Cousins, pointed out, "Fears did not exist in a vacuum. Fear today was in large measure the result of.....the raw threat of aggression and war..... not until we change the conditions producing fear could we expect to cope with it."[2]

It was at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African States of April, 1955, that the representatives of some of the smaller countries spoke out against Nehru's plea for fuller and wider adoption of the principle of non-alignment with military

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1. See the series of articles by Allen De Rusett and Appadorai in Sprout and Sprout : Foundations of International Politics, New Delhi 1962, pp. 663-73; and in K. P. Misra (ed.) : Studies in Indian Forein Policy, Vikas, 1969, pp. 107-55.

2. N. Cousins : Talks with Nehru, N. Y., John Day, 1951, p. 9.

blocs. The Bandung Conference was held after the military aid agreement had been reached between the U. S. A. and Pakistan in May, 1954, and after Pakistan had joined the SEATO in September, 1954. Nehru felt India's security was endangered by the Cold War coming, in this way, nearer to its borders. At Bandung, he said, "I submit to you every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the country which has entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise." This point was sought to be rebutted by the representatives of Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon and the Philippines. They generally said that the smaller nations had no alternative but to seek security through alliances. The Iraqi representative asked, would India provide an alternative by creating a third bloc to give protection to such States of Asia and Africa ? Charles Malik of Lebanon said that more than half the countries represented at the Bandung Conference were members of either of the two blocs and that Nehru could not be knowing more about their security than these countries themselves.[1]

Another principle of Nehru's foreign policy, namely, his opposition to colonialism and imperialism has also attracted criticism, though of a different kind. The critics think that Nehru's concept of imperialism was partial, conditioned by his own personal experience of India's struggle against the British power. For him, imperialism meant only the domination of Asian or African people by a white European power. Thus, it was mixed up with the question of colour, of white races ruling over the black. Walter Crocker, an Australian diplomat who lived for several years in New Delhi and had opportunity to study Nehru from a close quarter, says, "the driving force behind Indian, and more particularly Nehru's anti-colonialism was disapproval of foreign overlordships.....but there was also in it, as there had been in the old anti-British nationalist movement in India, a strong under-current of racial feeling

1. Kahin, G. M. : The Asian and African Conference, Cornell, Ithaca, 1956, pp. 23, 24.

born of sensitiveness about colour."[1] The same point is made more explicitly, by a well-known Indian biographer of Nehru. He says : "Colonialism, to Asia and Africa, spells the domination of White Powers over the coloured countries of the world."[2] Nehru was not prepared to see and condemn as imperialism the subjugation and exploitation of white by white or of Asians by Asians. This resulted in his being softer towards the latter kind of domination and exploitation. At the Bandung Conference, the representatives of Ceylon and Pakistan raised the question of Soviet imperialism and Soviet colonialism. Nehru was not enthusiastic about the projection of this form of colonialism before the Conference. He gave arguments against the countries of Eastern Europe being classed as colonies.[3] President Eisenhower records his disappointment that during Nehru's visit to him in December, 1956, he failed to rouse in Nehru any emphatic concurrence with his views against Soviet Colonialism in Eastern Europe.[4]

These criticisms should not be dismissed out of hand as having no weight or importance. These criticisms, valid to some extent, however, do not detract much from the greatness of Nehru's ideas and the magnificience of his principles when looked at from a broad and long-term perspective. The fault with Nehru perhaps lay in his being taken up too much with the long-term view of things and thus underplaying the immediate, more practical, side of things. Whatever the need for the maintenance of an equilibrium based on a balance of power or a balance of terror, it cannot be denied that the system of balance of power is not the best way of taking the world nearer to peace. Nehru's opposition to it was based on the belief, shared by a very large number of authorities on International Politics and vindicated by history, that the balance of power, in the long run,

1. Crocker, W. : Nehru : A Contemporary's Estimate, London, Allen & Unwin, 1966, pp. 109-10.
2. Frank Moraes : Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography, N. Y., Macmillan, 1956, pp. 465-66.
3. Kahin, G. M. : Op. cit., pp. 20-21.
4. D. Eisenhower : Waging Peace, p. 112.

leads to war. He was not totally unaware of the functions of a balance in maintaining some kind of peace, which may even mean accepting things more or less as they are. Peace, in fact, must be observed to maintain a given balance; the balance by itself is no guarantee of peace. Replying to the Foreign Affairs debate in the Lok Sabha in June, 1952, Nehru said : "As things are today, we have reached a certain balance — it may be a very unstable balance, but still it is some kind of a balance — where any kind of major aggression is likely to lead to a world war. That itself is a restraining factor. Whether aggression takes place in a small country or a big one, it tends to upset the unstable balance in the world and is, therefore, likely to lead to war"[1]

Whether non-alignment was or was not a function of the Cold War and possible only because of the maintenance of a balance, the fact cannot be denied that it was, and has been, a great force working in favour of peace. As Morgenthau pointed out in 1957, "Neutralism must be judged not by the abstract moral standard of anti-communism, but in terms of the contribution it is likely to make to the interests of the nations concerned, and more particularly to the overriding interest which all nations of the world have in common, the preservation of peace."[2] Its many merits, both from the wider point of view of the international political system and the narrower point of view of national interest, have come to be widely appreciated since the Dulles era.[3]

Whether Nehru himself was conscious of it or not, in enunciating the policy of non-alignment he was contributing a new approach to international politics, a new theory of international relations, and pointing for the future a possible way of side-tracking the traditional system of balance of power,

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1. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 67.
2. Year Book of World Affairs, 1957, London, Stevens, p. 75.
3. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the U. S. A., from January, 1953 to April 1959, a great critic of non-alignment.

and of reducing the importance attached to military power as a factor in international politics. An English authority on International Relations, Burton, pays this tribute to the non-aligned movement : "Non-alignment rests.....on a surer foundation than the competition between States for spheres of influence.....The usefulness of non-aligned nations..... arises from the fact that they withdraw large areas and populations from the power conflict. Never before has a group of nations stood outside a power conflict and actively worked to maintain non-bloc status of each of its members while deliberately attempting to influence the behaviour of the major Powers. Never before has a group of nations not involved in the power dispute been in a position to intervene as the non-aligned nations do at the United Nations.....Their contribution may not have been of great significance, but the fact that they have this function, that they have a positive role in world affairs, that they are a relevant part of a developing international system in the nuclear age, gives them a status and a stability wholly unlike any previous form of non-involvement in conflict."[1] Georg Schwarzenberger, a very eminent authority on International Politics, has recognised three distinct constructive potentialities in policies of "neutralism". It offers an alternative to "stereotyped partiality in an otherwise divided world"; it provides "immunisation against unrealistic vistas of medium-power glory in terms of a third force"; and, most important, it gives the non-aligned the opportunity to throw their weight on the side of the principles of the U. N. charter, "in particular those of good neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence".[2]

Perhaps Nehru was right in thinking that non-alignment was also the only practical course open to India when it became independent. In a private conversation with an American journalist, Vincent Sheean, in May, 1959, he insisted that,

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1. Burton, J.W. : International Relations, Bombay, George Allen and Unwin, 1971, p. 115.

2. Year Book of World Affairs, 1961, p. 242.

"no Indian Government of whatever conceivable political complexion, would have been able to follow any other course".[1] Also in a conversation with his Intelligence chief, Mullik, he said, that "non-alignment was the strictest practical policy and that he had no doubt that whatever government might have been in power or might come to power in the future, when it came up against these practical facts it would have to follow that policy more or less."[2]

Nehru was not wrong in wanting to extend the non-aligned areas. He thought it necessary in the interests of even the small nations that they should steer clear of alignments. It was a well-intended advice. Today, the increasing number of weak and small States joining the non-aligned movement is a clear vindication of the correctness of Nehru's attitude; and every addition to the non-aligned area only makes it more stable and a more useful system. Whatever was the position at the time of the Bandung Conference, today the number of small States declaring themselves non-aligned is far greater than that of such States who are allied with one military bloc or the other.

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1. Vincent Sheean : Nehru : The Years of Power, N. Y., Random House, 1960, p. 127.
2. Mullik, B. H. : My Years with Nehru, Bombay, Allied, 1972, p. 170.

II

I now propose to devote the second and third lectures to a consideration of the actual conduct of India's foreign relations by Nehru with a view to assess how far Nehru was able, in practice, to apply his principles, and how far these principles proved adequate for the achievement of the ultimate goal of all foreign policies, *viz.*, the furtherance of the national interest. Since it will not be possible to cover in the compass of two lectures the entire gamut of India's foreign relations during the seventeen years that Nehru was at the helm, I propose to discuss only the more controversial of the policies pursued and the positions taken by him during some of the international crises, and the role played by India in the resolution of some of these crises and in world affairs broadly. An examination of how he handled some of the problems India had to face in the field of international relations during his stewardship, will enable us also to form an estimate of Nehru's shrewdness as a strategist in diplomacy, the soundness of his judgement in *real politik*, and the relative force of the idealistic and the pragmatic elements in his personality.

Let us first take up the Kashmir question which for a long time had bedevilled our relations with Pakistan.[1] I need not recapitulate here the origin and history of the dispute, nor recount the arguments supporting the Indian position, nor how the question became, with its reference to the United Nations

1. For a detailed study of the question see Sisir Gupta : Kashmir, Bombay, Asia, 1966; Alan Campbell--Johnson : Mission with Mountbatten, Bombay, Jaico, 1951, and Hodson, H. V. : The Great Divide, London, Hutchinson, 1969.

on December 30, 1947, a factor in the Cold War strategy of th two blocs. We have to consider how the matter was handle by Nehru, and many people have seriously doubted the prudenc of some of his decisions and moves on this issue. There wa never any doubt about the legal and moral correctness o Kashmir's accession to India. Nehru himself went to the exte of saying that since Kashmir was not independent and ha not joined Pakistan, it continued to be India's responsibili and it was undeniably our duty to come to Kashmir's aid irrespective of whether she had acceded to India or not.[1] Wh did he make the accession subject to the ascertainment o the will of the people? Explaining this, he said before th Constituent Assembly, "It has been our policy all along tha where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to eith Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that Stat It was in accordance with this policy that we added a provis to the Instrument of Accession"[2]. But the point is, was the really a dispute about Kashmir's accession to India? The was delay as the Maharaja took some time to decide betwee the different alternatives open to him until the pressure exerte by Pakistan, and the Pakistan-instigated tribal invasio drove him to seek admission to the Indian Union. But whe was there a dispute about it? Only Pakistan's ambitio and efforts to coerce the Maharaja should not ha been described as a dispute. It is clear that the accessio took place also with the approval of the acknowledged leade of the National Conference, Sheikh Abdullah. Anothe question raised is as to why did the Indian Arme forces relent after clearing the raiders and the Pakistani force from the valley, and why did they not drive them out fro the entire territory of Kashmir when they could have don that? Why did Nehru refer the question to the United Nation even when Mahatma Gandhi had indicated, at least initially his mistrust of the United Nations,[3] and when some membe

1. Frank Moraes : Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 387.
2. Ibid, p. 391.
3. Pyare Lal : Mahatma Gandhi, the Last Phase, Vol. II, pp. 497-

of Nehru's cabinet also were not in favour of it ? We know that, later on, Nehru regretted having referred the issue to the United Nations and he was bitter about the attitude of the United Nations. The reference to the United Nations, and that too not as a complaint against aggression under Article 39, but under Article 35, which deals with the pacific settlement of disputes, went very much to our disadvantage. The assurance given by India to refer the accession to the people of Kashmir, after law and order had been restored and aggression ended, raised doubts about the legality and the finality of the accession. Of course, the responsibility for this kind of mishandling of the Kashmir question must formally rest on Nehru himself. But it is not difficult to understand why he behaved as he did. It appears, Mountbatten scared Nehru with the inevitability of a general war with Pakistan should India want to completely destroy the raiders' capacity for further mischief by destroying their bases in Pakistan. He also gave the advice that further military action would mean making the lines of communication of the Indian forces vulnerable and tenuous. Nehru's faith in the United Nations, about the manner of whose working he had little experience, and his firm belief in the correctness of India's stand, made him feel secure in referring the matter to the United Nations. His inexperience, and his faith in the United Nations were made use of by Mountbatten who was the last Englishman to hold the office of Governor-General of India. Nehru was acting mainly under his influence. Mountbatten is known to have originally preferred Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. A British authority, H. V. Hodson, says, "It is widely believed in Pakistan that there was a long-matured plot in India, aided and abetted by Lord Mountbatten, to tie Kashmir to India and prevent the State's accession to Pakistan. Available documents supply no material whatsoever to support this myth and indeed all the evidence indicates the contrary."[1] Mountbatten had earlier also advised the Maharaja to ascertain the will of his people. He sought Attlee's personal mediation to this

1. Hodson : The Great Divide, p. 441.

dispute but Attlee advised the matter be referred to the United Nations. It is not possible to say with certainty that Attlee and Mountbatten had acted with sinister motives against India in the matter of Kashmir, but they cannot be absolved of responsibility for misguiding Nehru. It can reasonably be believed that the Indian armed forces could have vacated tribal and Pakistani aggression from the whole of Kashmir; and India need not have itself appeared before the United Nations as a petitioner. Nehru is to blame for having allowed his judgement to be influenced too much by the advice tendered by Lord Mountbatten. His fault evidently lay in being overscrupulous about establishing the bonafides of India, in trusting the Englishmen too much, and in reposing too much faith in the fairness of the United Nations.

Close on the heels of the Kashmir question followed the problem of Tibet. I do not have here the time to go into the history of Tibet-China relations and into the varying degrees of autonomy enjoyed by Tibet in its long history. Since the beginning of this century, particularly after the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, China's influence over Tibet had been nominal. The British Government, by 1904, brought Tibet under its sphere of influence as a safeguard against the threat of Russian expansionism; China had not counted for much with British at that time. By the Anglo-Tibetan Lhasa Convention of September, 1904, the British secured some commercial facilities and related extra-territorial rights, besides a control over Tibet's foreign relations. The extra-territorial rights included the establishment of Trade Agencies, stationing of army detachments for their protection, maintenance of some rest-houses and postal and telegraph installations. There was no protest from China. However, Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was acknowledged in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and it was the British who pursuaded Tibet to recognise the suzerainty of China by the Simla Convention, 1914. In International Law, suzerainty is a relationship of an over-lord with a vassal State which enjoys independence in internal affairs,

the suzerain providing a protectorate for purposes of external relations. In the history of the 19th and 20th centuries, there are mostly instances of vassal States becoming in course of time fully sovereign. The States under Turkish suzerainty before 1914 and Outer Mongolia are examples. When India became independent, it inherited these extra-territorial rights from the British. India was keen to maintain the old cultural and trade relations with Tibet. In December, 1949, the communists came to power in China, and the very next year, in October, the Communist Government started the 'liberation' of Tibet by marching into Tibet a very large Chinese army. The Chinese wanted to use the *de jure* suzerainty over Tibet to establish their full control, and to integrate it completely with China. Tibet looked to India and other countries, but to no avail. The Chinese completed the subjugation of Tibet during the next nine years.

What was the attitude of Nehru to the process started by the Chinese in October, 1950 ? There was exchange of diplomatic notes. He did protest to China against the use of force in Tibet, and he pleaded for the adoption of peaceful methods by the Chinese and for India being allowed to maintain its very old cultural and trade links with Tibet. India also expressed its hope that Tibet's legitimate claim to autonomy would be adjusted within the framework of Chinese suzerainty. The Chinese rejoinder said that the Chinese army had to 'liberate' Tibet, and that India was simply acting under foreign influences hostile to China.[1] There was a lot of criticism within India of Nehru's attitude, and also of the role of the Indian Ambassador in Peking at that time, K. M. Panikkar. According to Pannikar, he and Nehru had already written off Tibet. Panikkar held the view that the policy of having special political interests in Tibet could not be maintained and Nehru agreed with him.[2] It appears from Panikkar's memoirs that he,

1. Frank Moraes : Op. cit., pp. 461-62; and Chakravarti, P. C. : India-China Relations, Calcutta, Mukhopadhyaya, 1961, pp. 32-33.
2. Panikkar, K. M. : In Two Chinas, London, Allen and Unwin, 1955, p. 102.

therefore, remained more concerned with the Korean cr and the question of Taiwan than with the developments Tibet. In subsequent years, the strangle-hold of Chinese po over Tibet became more tight. In April, 1954, an agreem was concluded between India and China according to wh India formally gave up the special rights relating to comme that it had possessed since 1904 because they were now con dered "relics of imperialism". This agreement, in its preamb contained the *Panchsheel*. In 1959, Nehru justifying this de sion to relinquish special rights in Tibet said, "people seem imagine that we surrendered some privileges in Tibet. T privileges we surrendered in Tibet were privileges we do not se to have in any country in the world, Tibet or any other."[1] 1958, there was a big revolt in eastern Tibet and thousands refugees crossed over to India. The Dalai Lama also to refuge in April, 1959. The Dalai Lama had, in fact, sou refuge also earlier in 1956, but then he was advised by Neh to go back. Thus by 1959, the Chinese had completed t integration of Tibet, by methods not of peace but of for Both in 1950 and in 1959, India also did little to help Tibet raising the issue in the United Nations.

The critics of Nehru's policy of acquiesence in t subjugation of Tibet by China say that, in 1950, China was a in a position to stand up to Indian opposition to its mo and if India had opposed China at that time it would ha secured the support of some of the great powers. By allow the destruction of Tibetan autonomy and by the surrender India's special rights there, Nehru did not do well by a v national interest of India, i. e. its security. A buffer betwe China and India disappeared almost with our approval. So critics also recalled that only in October, 1949, Nehru had t the U. S. Congress that "Where freedom is menaced or just threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot s shall not be neutral." Some Indian critics point out that

1. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 313.

1954 the conclusion of the agreement regarding Tibet should have been utilised by India at least to secure from China a clear recognition of the India-Tibet border.

The question arises why did Nehru not pursue a more positive policy aimed at securing the recognition of Tibet's autonomous status, or retaining India's special rights in Tibet, or of the recognition of India's border with Tibet ? In order to understand it better, we must view Nehru's Tibet policy as an aspect of his larger China policy. We must also think of the possible compulsions which determined Nehru's attitude. Like a noble visionary, Nehru was inclined to think in terms of "the larger scheme of things". He had some pet notions about the future peace, stability and progress of Asia and the world. An essential element of his grand design, or dream, was close, friendly, cooperation between the two Asian giants, India and China. Inspite of his knowledge of Chinese history telling him that whenever a strong central government emerged in China, it turned expansionist, Nehru pinned his faith in the friendliness of China towards India. He was anxious not to alienate China, to ensure which he went too far. He believed peace was needed by both the countries to enable them to concentrate on their economic development. In 1951, Norman Cousins asked him "How do you interpret the invasion of Tibet ?" Nehru's reply was : "I certainly am not afraid of any threat from the Tibetan side for a variety of reasons.... even practical military reasons are against it. But the real reason and the basic reason is that I do not think that India and China are going to function in that way toward each other."[1] It was one of those fixed ideas of Nehru which reveal a certain rigidity in his thinking. It is also somewhat strange that, inspite of his awareness of the tremendous impact of modern science on all spheres of human life, Nehru persisted in his faith in the effectiveness of the Himalayan mountains as a defence shield of India in the north. He told Parliament in December, 1950,

1. N. Cousins, Op. cit, p. 45.

"from time immemorial the Himalayas have provided us wit magnificient frontier. Of course, they are not as impassable they used to be, but are still effective."[1] K. M. Munshi tells that during a cabinet meeting on the Tibetan situati when N. V. Gadgil spoke about the need for greater attention military preparations, he was snubbed by Nehru who sa "Do'not you realise that the Himalayas are there ?"[2] Dur his visit to the United States in December, 1956, Nehru t President Eisenhower that any attack from the Soviet Union China was unlikely as it would be difficult because of t Himalayan chain of mountains and, furthermore, because b these countries had vast internal problems to cope with.[3]

This was what may be called the idealistic and t intellectual framework in which Nehru's Tibet policy w moulded. However, it would be incorrect to think that re realistic and practical considerations had not weighed wi Nehru. There was a pragmatic side also, to ignore which w be unfair to Nehru. When the chips were down in 1950, o three years after India's Independence, with the Kashmir disp with Pakistan on his hands, Nehru perhaps found there was li he could do effectively to prevent the Chinese from integrati Tibet. He told the Lok Sabha in September, 1954, "What a any hon'ble Member of this House expect us to do in regard Tibet ?.....Where did we come into the picture unless wanted to assume an aggressive role of interferring with oth countries ? Many things happen in the world which we do like and which we wish were rather different but we do not like Don Quixote with lance in hand against everything that dislike; we put up with these things because we would be, with making any difference, merely getting into trouble."[4] He ag told the Lok Sabha, in April, 1959, "Indeed, even from

1. Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 47.
2. Kulkarni, V. B. : The Indian Triumvirate, Bombay, Vidya Bha 1949, p. 395.
3. Eisenhower, op. cit., p. 109.
4. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 304.

narrowest practical point of view, any other policy would have been wrong and futile."[1] We have to keep in mind that the Indian armed forces were not yet prepared for mountain warfare, as they were not, unfortunately, right upto 1962. The mental make-up of the Indian Army Chiefs was also not attuned to the possibility of warfare on the Himalayan mountains.[2] It was after 1950 that Nehru did become alive to the danger from the north, whatever he might have said publicly. He told Mullik, the Intelligence chief, that administrative posts had to be established right upto the frontier so that "when the Chinese came to create trouble they would find a fully established administration ready to meet the challenge."[3] Nehru, perhaps, had in April, 1954 to come to an agreement with the Chinese about Tibet because just two months earlier the U. S. President had announced his decision to give military aid to Pakistan. Nehru could also not have been oblivious of the probable consequence of India's military intervention in Tibet against China for India's relations with the other communist Power, the Soviet Union. Could the Soviet Union, in those days, remain indifferent and aloof if the Indian Government, which Stalin still considered to be not really independent but a tool of Anglo-American imperialism, had sent its forces into Tibet against China ? It may not be unreasonable to infer that it was such considerations that made Nehru believe that the only course open to India was to withdraw from Tibet. He told the Lok Sabha in May, 1954, "We must give up these facilities.... if we did not like to give up those things, we would have been forced to give them up. We must accept this fact."[4] Perhaps Nehru had, in the circumstances of those days, to make a virtue of necessity. After the April, 1954 agreement with China, Nehru did, however, give orders to set up border posts to safeguard the country's frontiers.[5] The tragedy was that whatever faith

1. Ibid, p. 322.
2. Khera, S. S. : India's Defence Problem, New Delhi, Orient Longman's, 1968, pp. 157.
3. Mullik, op. cit., p. 79.
4. Quoted in Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 60.
5. Khera, S. S. : Op. cit., p. 155.

Nehru had reposed in China's friendliness, China did not play the game according to Nehru's expectations; and Nehru failed to take quick and adequate measures for the safety of the northern borders, as was evident from the events of 1962. Whether it was so mainly because of error in Nehru's judgement of the situation and in his perception of the future trends, or was it so also because of some material limitations, it is difficult to say with any definiteness.

Let us now pass on to a brief review of Nehru's handling of two crises of a different kind occurring in quick succession almost simultaneously, at places quite distant from India. India was not directly involved as a party in any of these crises but her interest arose chiefly from her concern for international peace.

In July, 1956, the Egyptian Government had nationalised the Suez Canal Company in which the bulk of the shares were held by English and French parties. There was a dispute about the terms of the take-over, and the British and French interests had desired even a change of Government in Egypt. The Israelis were concerned because of the possible repurcussions on the availability of the canal for their use. Towards the end of October, the Israeli forces invaded Egyptian territory and it was soon followed by armed intervention by the British and French Governments. At about the same time, there was a nationalist uprising in Hungary against the communist regime which was controlled by the Soviet Union. In October-November, the uprising was crushed by the armed forces of the Soviet Union which were already inside Hungary. Nehru's reaction to the two crises was not the same. While he promptly denounced, in quite strong and unambiguous language, the Israeli-British-French aggression against Egypt, he was neither so prompt nor so vigorous in his condemnation of the Soviet action in suppressing by military power, what was clearly a nationalist movement for freedom in Hungary. The action of Britain and France, he described as "a flagrant case of aggression by two strong powers against a weaker country", "a reversion

to past colonial methods and an attempt to coerce Egypt by a show of armed might", "this record of unabashed aggression and deception", "an approach which is dangerous to the freedom of Asian and African countries and to world peace itself."[1] The Soviet armed intervention in Hungary, he called, "grave and distressing occurrences in Hungary", "the tragic events which have taken place there". Nehru, however, also publicly said that India stood for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Hungary, and that the people of Hungary should be allowed to determine the future of their country according to their own wishes.[2] Several critics as well as friends of Nehru, both Indian and foreign, thought that Nehru was soft pedalling the Hungarian issue. He was accused of using double standards, one for judging the action of the Western powers and another for the action of the Soviet Union. This was alleged to be contrary to Nehru's profession of non-alignment and of his declared policy to judge every issue independently on its merits. This feeling was reinforced by the conduct of the Indian delegate in the United Nations General Assembly when the resolution condemning Soviet intervention and calling for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops was put to vote. The Indian delegate abstained from voting on most paragraphs of the resolution and voted against the paragraph recommending the holding of free elections in Hungary under the auspices of the United Nations. He supported only the paragraph which asked for the entry of the nominee of the U. N. Secretary-General into Hungary to study the situation there, but subject to the proviso "without prejudice to its sovereignty".[3]

It is true that the reaction of Nehru to the two crises was not similar. But it is difficult to understand why this should have caused so much disappointment and annoyance in the West, and criticism in our own country. It was quite natural that the reaction was stronger in the case of Egypt and less

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1 & 2. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, pp. 535-36, 537, 555-57.

3. Heimsath, C. H. and Mansingh, S. : A Diplomatic History of India, Bombay, Allied, 1971, pp. 30-31.

strong, and more cautious, in the case of Hungary. Much of the criticism perhaps was misconceived in the sense that it was based on an inadequate and incorrect appreciation of the implications of India's policy of non-alignment, and of the motivation of Nehru's behaviour. The purpose of non-alignment is the protection of international peace and reducing the chances of war. While in the case of the Suez crisis the two super-powers were not divided but were both opposed to Israeli and Anglo-French intervention, in the case of the Hungarian crisis the two super-powers stood on opposite sides and confronted each other in a hostile posture. Obviously, for Nehru this was a more dangerous situation than the one in Suez. Nehru had to be very careful as to what would prevent and what would lead to a deterioration in the situation. Condemnation of the Soviet Union, he thought, would not improve the situation as he perceived it. Also feeling the same amount of involvement in the case of Hungary as was felt in the cause of Egypt, would just not have been natural on the part of any Indian or Asian. Nehru had to soft-pedal the case of Soviet suppression of the uprising in Hungary for the sake of a very substantial reason with a direct bearing on India's national interest. Of the great powers, the Soviet Union alone had come out, clearly and openly, on the side of India in the Kashmir issue before the United Nations. Why should have Nehru ignored this fact ? I think that, in the last analysis and at his hard core, Nehru was a staunch nationalist, however, constant and earnest his efforts, intellectual and political, were to reconcile his nationalism with internationalism. Besides, the policy of non-alignment never forbade *political* alignment with a power when it suited India's interest. Non-alignment is against *military* involvement in hostile blocs which leads to war and which curtails one's freedom of action; it is not against taking good care of one's national interest. Here is what Nehru himself had said during the early years of our independence when he was formulating and developing his ideas on foreign policy : speaking about

1. Heimsath and Mansingh, op. cit., p. 427.

instructions to India's delegates to the United Nations, he said, in March, 1948, "Our instructions to our delegates have always been to consider each question first in terms of India's interest and secondly on its merits."[1] In December, 1947, he had said, "we are not going to join a war if we can help it; and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice. There the matter ends."[2] Later, in December, 1950, he said "you cannot expect me to give up our view-point.....because some other nations think differently. I just would not do that. I do not understand long and repeated arguments about it. I am on my country's side and on nobody else's."[3] Why should there have been any great surprise at how Nehru chose to react to the Hungarian crisis ? And what was so terribly wrong about it ?

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1, 2 & 3. Nehru ; Ibid, pp. 33, 24, 54.

III

The question of Goa provided another test of the relative strength of some of the principles of Nehru's foreign policy. He had, on the one hand, expounded the virtues of using peaceful methods for settlement of disputes in general and that of the future of Goa in particular, and the undesirability of the military approach in international politics; on the other hand, there was his strong opposition to colonialism and imperialism and his duty of supporting a nationalist movement right on India's coast, public opinion in favour of which had been roused to fever pitch.

There never really was any scope for doubt about the substantive issue of Goa being a part of India, nor about the desirability of its political union with the Indian Republic. True, the American Secretary of State, Dulles, had signed, in December, 1955, a joint declaration with the Portugese Government in which Goa was mentioned as a province of Portugal. But it was made perhaps more out of the pique that Dulles had against India for its non-alignment than out of any genuine conviction. Anyway, few took this fantastic theory of the Portugese Government seriously. There were also a few Western observers, located in Delhi, who held the view that the nationalist upsurge in Goa was, to a large extent, encouraged and helped by the Indian Government and by the ruling Congress Party, and that conditions inside Goa were not really as bad as were depicted in the Indian newspapers and radio.[1] It was, however,

1. See Crocker, op. cit., pp. 119-121; and Maxwell, N. : Indian's China War, Bombay, Jaico, 1971, pp. 227-28.

not such allegations which posed any real problem for Ne
The problem was created by his image as a man of peace. Ne
had always expounded the superiority and desirability of
ment of disputes by peaceful methods. He had rejoiced a
transfer of the French possessions in India in October, 19
a result of peaceful negotiations, and had called it the civ
way of dealing with the problem. In August, 1954, he had
"we may not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring a
situations of violence" and that "it is not..... the inte
of the Government of India to be provoked into thinking
acting in military terms."[1] A year later, however, he said
although India would use force only in defence and not pr
or start a war, the government was not pledged to non-v
methods. "One may adhere to a policy leading in a c
direction and yet, because of existing circumstances, one c
give effect to that ideal"[2]; but he also pointed out that th
of the army was wrong in principle because that would
"that the big countries of the world have a right to brin
smaller countries under their sway. .....Once we a
the position that we can use the army for the solution o
problems, we cannot deny the same right to other countr
In December, 1957, he said, "we ventured to say in the U
Nations and elsewhere that all problems should be solved p
fully. Therefore, it will not be appropriate for us to talk in
of military measures in regard to a particular issue beca
may be in our interest to do so."[4] Thus it is clear th
repeatedly proclaiming that India was committed to pe
methods, he had placed himself and India on a high
pedestal. The criticism that followed the military act
December, 1961, was, therefore, largely the result of N
own doing. With reports of brutal repression against natio
in Goa, tension was, no doubt, mounting in the country.
was also pressure of opinion in the African countries
independent India should not indefinitely tolerate Po
colonialism. The Socialist countries would always

1, 2, 3 & 4. Nehru : Op. cit., pp. 108-109, 115-116, 122,

supported India's action in driving out Portugese colonialism. The Portugese Government was itself giving provocation. There were indications even of some kind of collusion between Portugal and Pakistan. The intransigence of Portugal was becoming more and more manifest. The country's patience was getting exhausted and the Congress Party had to face the General Elections in 1962. All these considerations must have weighed with Nehru. However, the point that we have to consider here is whether, or not, it was desirable for Nehru to bear with the Portugese rule in Goa for another two or three months and avoid criticism by a very influential section of opinion in the West. True, a certain tempo had been built up in the country but Nehru could possibly have held in leash, for a short while more, the forces pressing for immediate action. The last effort at mediation was sought to be made by the American Government just a day before the Goa action, and they wanted to be given a few months' time[1]. The failure of this proposed effort at mediation would have, it seems, finally convinced the Western Powers that every effort had been made by India for a peaceful settlement of the question. Nehru himself was conscious of the likely effect of the military action on world opinion. That he was not at all happy with the decision to use the army, Nehru told General Kaul. Nehru had received appeals from the U. S. President, Kennedy, the British Prime Minister, MacMillan, and the Secretary-General of U. N., U. Thant, not to resort to force. Kaul writes, "The gist of all the messages was that the world saw Nehru as the apostle of peace and as such his military action against Goa would be considered incompatible with his professions.....These communications had a pronounced effect on Nehru.....U. Thant's letter had the maximum impact on him. It was a message not only from the head of the world body like the U. N. but also from a distinguished fellow Asian."[2] According to Kaul, "Nehru thought that if he failed to act on this occasion,

1. Galbraith, J. K. : Ambassador's Journal, London, Hamish Hemilton, 1969, p. 284.
2. Kaul : Op. cit., pp. 299-301.

both the people and the armed forces might lose faith in him and he reluctantly agreed that the military action should go ahead."[1] That action did make Nehru's and India's attitude towards the use of force appear in the West to be dual — "reprehensible in the abstract and in the service of others, but justifiable both politically and morally when employed by India in disputes over what she regarded as her own territory."[2] It would not be correct to say that all the Western critics of Nehru's action were hypocritical imperialists. Perhaps, a majority of them had been ardent admirers of Nehru and did not like to have to change their image of Nehru. It is such people who felt shocked and let down by Nehru when he did finally resort to military action. Towards the end of his life Nehru himself had this to say about the Goa action : "the choice was between two evils — let us frankly admit the fact — and we had to use the lesser evil of force, repugnant as it is both to the genius of the land and my own convictions, under compulsion of the paramount necessity of putting an end to colonialism in our land.....It was an unfortunate decision but an unavoidable one, taken after all peaceful means had been tried and exhausted."[3]

I am inclined to think that the Goa affair could have been planned more thoughtfully, and Nehru could have avoided the dilemma which confronted him in December, 1961. With better planning, "D Day" could have been fixed only after Nehru himself had no qualms of conscience left about military action, and his friends and critics more completely convinced that all peaceful methods had really been exhausted. It was to some of these very critics in the West, and not to the countries of Africa, that Nehru turned for aid during the Chinese invasion of 1962. A good planning of diplomatic policy about Goa could also have substantially reduced the time taken for its political union with India, and it would have avoided the loss

1. Kaul : op. cit., pp. 299-301.
2. Maxwell, N. : op. cit., p. 230.
3. Karanjia, R. K. : The Philosophy of Mr. Nehru, London, Allen & Unwin, 1966, p. 74.

of Nehru's prestige caused by the resort to military action in December, 1961. It is so sad that it was not avoided.

Thus, by the time of the large-scale Chinese aggression of October-November, 1962, Nehru's reputation as a man of peace had suffered a set-back in the eyes of the influential sections of the Western world. The Chinese aggression had serious repercussions on India's foreign relations during the next three or four years, and a more lasting impact on her position in the world. I do not propose to dwell here on the motives and intentions of the Chinese, either in launching their large-scale offensive or in announcing a unilateral ceasefire on November 20-21, 1962, and the withdrawal of their troops with effect from December 1, 1962 to the line of actual control as on 7-11-1959. I may also not devote time here to the military aspect of the war and to the shortcomings of our defence policy and preparations which were so glaringly and painfully revealed by this war. The war created also a moral and political crisis for Nehru and India as it apparently put to a test Nehru's adherence to the basic principle of his foreign policy, non-alignment, and, at least for some years to come, created serious doubt in the mind of many Indians about the utility of that principle itself. It is chiefly to these aspects of the Chinese aggression that I propose to draw your attention.

I shall first describe briefly the facts relevant for our purpose. When India was unable to cope with the Chinese invasion and apprehended even a deeper thrust by the Chinese, Nehru sent out appeals for military aid to the governments of the U. S. A., Britain and some other countries. Perhaps a little later he did write also to the governments of the Communist countries, more, it is believed, for record than with any real expectations of a meaningful response. The bulk of the military aid was promptly supplied by the U. S. Government, but the U. S. Government soon began to feel that the British government should also shoulder substantially the responsibility for supplying military aid to India. Although the question as to the amount and nature of air support sought from the U. S. A.

became, later on, a matter of controversy in India, it is cl
that India did ask for more aid than perhaps the U. S. A. w
able, or willing, to supply. After the cease-fire of Novemb
20-21, 1962, the American President and the British Pri
Minister agreed, at a Conference held at Nassau on Decemb
20, 1962 to give 100-120 million dollars' worth of military a
to India during the next three years, the cost being shared equa
by the two countries[1]. This military aid continued to flow in
India until the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistan war in 19
The Soviet Union did not become a source of supply of arm
and equipment required for meeting the Chinese threat, but
indicated understanding of India's need for military aid fr
the U. S. A. and did not create difficulties. The Sov
Union only wanted an assurance that India would not en
into a military alliance with the U. S. A.[2] Nehru also wan
to avoid causing embarrassment to the Soviet Union by drivi
it into a position where it would have to make a choice betwe
China and India. The possibility of a military alliance betwe
India and the U. S. A. was never considered seriously. Neith
India wanted it, nor was it desired by the U. S. A. The U. S.
would have found the alliance very expensive, as the Americ
Ambassador wrote to his President.[3] Besides, the allia
would have driven the Soviet Union closer to China. Due
the efforts of the American and British Governments, Pakis
gave an assurance of not creating trouble for India during
Chinese invasion but it expected, in return, that the Americ
and British Governments would use their influence with In
to make it agree to have meaningful negotiations with Pakis
on the Kashmir question. Actually, the British and Americ
Governments did make Nehru agree to starting a dialogue w
Pakistan over Kashmir. The non-aligned nations of Asia a
Africa thought it prudent to remain non-aligned also in
dispute between India and China. Later, on Decem
10, 1962, six of them, *viz.*, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Gha
Indonesia and Egypt met at Colombo and made an effort

1. Maxwell, N. : Op. cit., p. 235, footnote.
2 & 3. Galbraith : Op. cit., pp. 445 and 475.

mediation. They formulated some proposals which could provide a basis for starting negotiations between India and China. However, the Chinese Government did not accept these proposals mainly because while the Chinese army was to withdraw 20 kms. behind the line of actual control (as on November 7, 1959) in the Western sector, the proposal did not require the Indian army to keep 20 kms. behind the line of actual control on their side. So the stalemate has continued ever since.

It was alleged, and widely believed at least for sometime after the Chinese aggression, that India had abandoned the policy of non-alignment and that the defeat of the Indian forces in the border war had left "the premises as well as the superstructure" of Nehru's foreign policy in ruins.[1] Many Indians were led to believe, after the traumatic experience of October-November, 1962, that the policy of non-alignment had not succeeded in protecting India's national interest. Let us examine how far such views were well-founded.

It is true that the norms of non-alignment set by Nehru, at least for his own country, were high and that he tried to observe them rather strictly. His own speeches had made it appear that one of the basic aims of non-alignment, independence of action, could be achieved only when a country did not depend upon foreign aid.[2] He told the Rajya Sabha in August, 1962, "To get military aid is to become somebody's dependent."[3] He had spoken, a number of times, about the desirability of a country being self-reliant for defence. Thus, not to be dependent on foreign military aid had become an essential condition and an inseparable aspect of non-alignment as conceived by Nehru, for his own country at least. We have to keep in mind here that, strictly, non-alignment required being free from

1. Michael Edwards in K. P. Misra (Ed.) : Op. cit., p. 219.
2. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, pp. 59, 63, 69.
3. Quoted in A. Rao and B. G. Rao : Six Thousand Days, New Delhi, Sterling, 1974, p. 326.

participation only in a military alliance with any of the two hostile Cold War blocs. Rejection of military aid outside the Cold War context had not been included in the definition of non-alignment. It is interesting to note that the Belgrade Conference of some of the leading non-aligned nations, held in 1961, had prescribed the following attributes of a non-aligned country : following an independent policy or evidence of a trend in that direction, consistent support of movements for national independence, abjuring of multi-lateral military alliances concluded *in the context of great power conflicts*, and the refusal to permit establishment of foreign military bases for *purposes related to great power conflicts*.[1] It has also been pointed out that the other two leading non-aligned countries, Egypt and Yugoslavia, as well as Indonesia, had accepted large military aid.[2] It is true, technically, non-alignment is not abandoned by obtaining military aid from a great power, but, at the same time, it is difficult to deny that the concept of non-alignment, as originally enunciated by Nehru himself, stood diluted or modified by the acceptance of military aid from the U. S. A. One of the standards of conduct cherished by him had to be compromised by Nehru for the sake of his country's security, whatever he might have believed earlier about the evils of foreign military aid. In May, 1948, Nehru had already stated, "as occasion arises we adapt ourselves to circumstances..... but the fundamental approach, I do think, has to remain the same."[3]

What did Nehru himself say about India's adherence to non-alignment during and after the Chinese aggression ? He never gave it up. Even during the course of the war with China, when American arms aid was being sought and received, he insisted, to the annoyance of President Kennedy, that

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1. Heimsath and Mansingh : Op. cit., p. 76. (Italics added for emphasis).
2. M. S. Rajan in K. P. Misra (ed.) : Studies in Indian Foreign Policy, Delhi, Vikas, 1969, p. 252.
3. Nehru : Ibid, p. 37.

non-alignment was as good as ever[1]. It appears that Nehru did, however, modify his original concept of non-alignment. Defending the joint Anglo-American Air exercises held in India during 1963, he told the Rajya Sabha, in September, 1963, that the exercises did not at all affect India's policy of non-alignment.[2] In March, 1964, he explained in an interview, "In normal circumstances we would not have asked for so much military assistance from friends abroad, but the Chinese attack left us with no other alternative. However, this has not changed our basic stand or ideology.....Western military cooperation has come without any ideological strings or cold-war reservations."[3] In fact, an astute foreign diplomat has paid tribute to the great skill displayed by Nehru in dealing with the situation that was created by the Chinese attack. It has been said that he got "military reliance without military-alliance."[4]

Apart from the question of Nehru's adherence to his basic principle of non-alignment, we may also consider how did the Chinese aggression affect the validity and utility of the principle. Nehru himself had said in 1960, that non-alignment did not become invalid simply because some country failed to observe the right code of international behaviour.[5] For some years after 1962, considerable domestic pressure was exerted, from the Right as well as the Left, against the continuation of the policy of non-alignment. But there is little doubt that non-alignment has remained the best policy for India, in her own interest and in that of the world. It would be wrong to condemn non-alignment for the failure of India to defend herself against the Chinese attack; that failure was due to the neglect of defence preparations to which the principle of non-alignment was never opposed. In attacking non-alignment for the military defeat,

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1. Galbraith, op. cit., p. 447.
2. A. Rao and B. G. Rao : Op. cit., p. 327.
3. Karanjia, R. K. : The Philosophy of Mr. Nehru, London, Allen and Unwin, 1066, p. 118.
4. See Crocker : Op. cit, pp. 129-30.
5. Karanjia, R. K. : The Mind of Mr. Nehru, p. 54.

we would simply be barking up the wrong tree. The long neglect of necessary military preparations was really due, to a great extent, to the belief, rather wishful thinking, that China would never commit aggression against India and that even if it did so, there was not much to fear from it as the clashes were expected to be only of a localised nature. Why blame the principle of non-alignment for living under this false impression, this illusion, for so long ?

I shall now take up some aspects of Nehru's foreign policy, and of his conduct of our foreign relations, which brought great credit to him and to the role of India in world politics.

After India became independent, one of the decisions of historic importance taken by Nehru was that India should continue as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations even after it became a republic under the new constitution of 1950. It was a rare act of statemanship. This decision of Nehru set an example for the other countries of Asia and Africa which were shortly to achieve their independence. It can reasonably be assumed that but for India's decision, few countries of Asia and Africa would have remained members of the Commonwealth. For this reason, Nehru may be considered as the saviour of the Commonwealth, a free association of nations that has functioned more for good than for evil in world politics.

The decision to continue in the Commonwealth, however, did not affect Nehru's attitude towards imperialism. He helped vigorously freedom movements in other Asian and African countries by his moral and diplomatic support, inside and outside the United Nations, the most well-known example being that of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Nehru convened two international Conferences in New Delhi — one even before India's formal independence, in March, 1947, and the second in January, 1949, to press for full sovereignty of Indonesia.

Nehru established early his reputation as a mediator and that of non-aligned India as a bridge between the communist

and the non-communist powers. It was during the Korean War of 1950-53 that Nehru demonstrated the value of non-aligned countries as mediators. The war was started in June, 1950 by the invasion of South Korea, across the 38th parallel, by the forces of the communist North Korea. The United Nations had put in forces under its flag to fight the aggression of North Korea against South Korea. The bulk of the U. N. forces was American. Nehru succeeded in keeping the war localised. He was the only non-communist leader in touch with the Chinese government. He conveyed to the American and the British Governments that if the U. N. forces were to cross the 38th parallel into North Korea, the Chinese would intervene. His warning was ignored, and the Chinese did enter the war on the side of North Korea on November 6, 1950. Although it had supported the United Nations resolution condemning North Korea for aggression, India did not support an American resolution moved in the General Assembly to brand Communist China as an aggressor, and, for some time, this caused a misunderstanding of India's position in the eyes of the West. After the victory of the U. N. forces at Inchon in the autumn of 1950, Nehru appealed for a cease-fire along the 38th parallel,[1] but with no result. The commanders of the two sides started armistice talks in July, 1951, but they could not come to an agreement. It was only Nehru's proposal regarding the repatriation of the prisoners of war which provided the basis for the armistice agreement finally reached on June 8, 1953. Nehru had proposed armistice on similar lines a year and half earlier.[2] If Nehru had been listened to by the two sides at that time, thousands of precious lives would have been saved in Korea. India was made the chairman of the U. N. Repatriation Commission and supplied about 5,000 troops to supervise the repatriation of prisioners of war. This role of India won it great credit in the world.

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1. Moraes, F. : Op. cit., p. 444.
2. Vincent Sheean, Op. cit., p. 123.

Next year, in 1954, Nehru turned his attention to the problem of peace in Indo-China where the nationalist forces had been fighting the French imperialist forces since 1946, i.e. for about eight years.

It has been pointed out by some critics that Nehru did not show the same enthusiasm for the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Indo-China as he had done for that of the people of Indonesia, and that until February, 1954, his interest was negligible. These critics hold the view that India could easily have established itself as the leader, which is really a euphemism for the dominant power, of the South-East Asian region after the withdrawal of the British and French power, and that Nehru missed this opportunity. There are many factors which can explain Nehru's earlier detachment from what was going on in Indo-China. For one thing, the exact nature of the anti-French movement was not quite clear to him. He did not want to support a communist movement. He recognised only after some time that the communists in Indo-China had the support of the nationalist elements and were spearheading what was basically a nationalist movement. After December, 1949, when Communist Government had been established in China. Nehru was careful not to alienate China and rouse its suspicions and rivalry by getting involved in India-China. Also, he had still to deal with the French in the matter of the transfer of the French possessions in India and perhaps for that reason also he liked to remain rather aloof from the Indo-Chinese problem. He came, in due course, to acquire a very sound grasp of the situation in South-East Asia. During his visit to the U. S. A. in November 1961, he advised the U. S. Government not to get involved in Vietnam. Nehru asked the Indian Foreign Secretary, M. J. Desai, who was accompanying him during the visit, to "tell them not to go to Vietnam. They will get stuck there."[1] How correct did it prove ! As for the leadership of the South-East

1. Kuldip Nayar : India, The Critical Years, Delhi, Vikas, 1971, p.

Asian region, Nehru was never a believer in the theory of power vacuum. He would only have caused hostility against it in that region, if India had tried to assume the role of a big power in South-East Asia. That role was so utterly out of tune with Nehru's philosophy of international relations. Besides, it is doubtful if India was in a position to assume the role in those early years after her independence, even if it aspired to do so. Very soon thereafter, Nehru's faith in the possibility of Asian solidarity was itself shaken.

It was only in February, 1954, when his relations with the post-Stalin Soviet Union were getting better, he had made a mark in Korea, and it had become clear that the French had no future in Indo-China that Nehru made the first notable move for peace in Indo-China. He first made an appeal for a cease-fire and in April, 1954, speaking before the Lok Sabha, put forward a six-point proposal for peace in Indo-China.[1] He secured for his proposal endorsement from the Prime Ministers of five other South Asian countries at the Colombo Conference of the Prime Ministers held during April-May, 1954[2]. It was along the lines of Nehru's proposal that the Geneva Accords were concluded in July, 1954. Although India was not invited to the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, a representative of India was available at Geneva for informal consultations. India was selected to be the Chairman of the International Control Commission which consisted of Poland, Canada and India. The Commission was to limit foreign military intervention in the Succession States and to enforce the terms of the Geneva Accords.

The influence of Nehru among Asian and African States was at its height in 1955 when the Bandung Conference was held. However, Nehru sensed here how these States had their own divergent interests and circumstances, and that a unity

1. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, p. 399.
2. The Colombo Conference was attended by Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan.

of outlook, excepting for anti-colonialism, was difficult to maintain. He also now started to think that imperialism had been liquidated to a large extent and was on its way out and that the chief danger to world peace in future was from nuclear armaments. He was getting convinced that instead of harping on anti-colonialism, the Asian and African States should now lend their weight in favour of nuclear disarmament. Some of the important Asian and African countries did not agree with Nehru on this point. The difference in outlook among the non-aligned States also was becoming apparent to Nehru by the time of the Belgrade Conference of 1961 where he did not like that the Conference take primarily an anti-imperialist stand.

Some of Nehru's achievements were of a more basic importance. His constant emphasis on India's bigness which required that she should not be tied to any other country, however big or powerful, gave to his fellow-countrymen a sense of self-respect and a feeling of dignity which, after more than a century of foreign domination, might otherwise have been difficult to acquire. Similarly, his emphasis on the importance of resurgent Asia and on the impact that it was bound to make on world politics helped Asians to shed their feeling of inferiority *vis-a-vis* the European powers. Speaking before the General Assembly of the United Nations in November, 1948, Nehru said, "The world is something bigger than Europe, and you will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European problems.....Today I do venture to submit that Asia counts in world affairs. To-morrow it will count much more than today."[1] His enunciation of the doctrine of non-alignment went a long way to strengthen international peace and gave a new direction to international politics. He served as a "valuable counterpoise to the brinkmanship of most dangerous of the Dulles years".[2] Non-alignment showed

1. Nehru : India's Foreign Policy, pp. 163-64.
2. Crocker, W. R. : Op. cit., p. 88.

to the States of Asia and Africa a new path in international relations by following which they could live independently and with dignity, inspite of the power politics of the great powers. As a result of the acceptance of non-alignment by an increasing number of Asian and African countries, a feeling of fraternity and solidarity was developed among them. Yet, with "his interest in the total human situation" and his "vision to distinguish the bigger things from the smaller things"[1], Nehru always exhorted them to look at things from the wider, international, perspective.

To be able to serve well his country as well as the world, Nehru had constantly to maintain a balance between the idealistic and the realistic elements of his thought and outlook. Usually, the balancing was superb, bound to give excellent results in the long run. His errors arose not from any weakness of intellect or defect of character or narrowness of vision, but from the nobility of his mind, his faith in the goodness of man, and his innate tendency to think far ahead of his times.

By any measure, Nehru will always rank among world statesmen of the highest class. The famous historian of human civilization, Arnold Toynbee, has described him as "One of the noble works of God's creation"[2]. India can justly be proud of having produced in him one of the immortals of history.

* * *

1 & 2. Crocker, W. R. : Op. cit., pp. 118, 11.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF AHOM COINAGE

Jai Prakash Singh

Money is a social institution and coins are issued to facilitate exchange of goods. It is true for the most of our ancient and medieval coinages. All coinages of the sub-continent, however, were not issued with this end in view. From this view point the coinages of medieval North Eastern India are of particular interest. Thus it is stated that the Ahom, Tripura, Jayantia, Koch and Kachari etc. coinages were a ceremonial money at least initially. It is true indeed that all these coinages of the region may have actually been cermonial in nature not only initially but practically till the establishment of the British rule in the region under the Company and may be for sometime even after. It is, however, likely that in due course the easy availability of these coins may have resulted in their use as current coins, in exchange of goods and services, in the area of their issue. We propose to discuss here the nature of Ahom money, which we feel was a cere. monial or gift money.

It has often been contended by some scholars particularly with regard to the smaller denomination coins of the Ahoms that they were struck to meet the need of small change[1]. Such views of earlier scholars, we feel, are not based on evidence, contemporary or otherwise, and are merely hypothetical. We propose to discuss herein the nature[2] and purpose of the Ahom coinage as revealed by the available evidence of the Buranjis and other relevant material.

It has been usually held that initially the Ahom money was issued at the time of the coronation. But strictly speaking all coronation-issues were not issued at the time of this ceremony. Some of them were issued even much later than the consecration ceremony of a king. Instances also are not wanting of kings issuing coins even without entering the *Singarighara* or the hall of consecration.[4] Such exceptions, however, are few and may be taken to suggest that such princes being temporarily in command of the politico-military situation issued their coins to meet religious-ceremonial requirements of their anticipated consecration. Some times the ceremony itself was postponed, to be held at an auspicious occassion and coins were issued accordingly. The initial year coins of Coin-issuing Ahom rulers suggest that their specie was first issued at the time of the coronation ceremony. Coins of most kings before Rudra Simha, who regularised the issue of Ahom money are struck only in the initial year of their reign. This shows that Ahom specie originated as a coronation commemmorative to be gifted away.

The coinage of all the predecessors of Rudra Simha, for instance, is purely of a ceremonial type being issued either at the time of the coronation or after or in its anticipation. Thus it has also been pointed out by Harakanta Barua Sadar-amin in his *Assam Buranji*[5] that kings issued coins to meet the requirements of their coronation. Some kings, however, issued them even before entering the *Singarighara*, but for the same purpose. The statement suggests that usually the coins were issued by a king at the time of his coronation to meet the expenditure and to distribute gifts to priests, nobles and other high officers of the state. Thus it can be surmised that the issue of money by the Ahoms was not undertaken for reasons of an economic nature but for con-venience in distributing gold and silver as gifts.

This practice seems to have continued even later. The main difficulty, however, lies in explaining the coins of smaller denominations, both in gold and silver. These coins do not, however, contain the coronation formulae-legends. From the time of Rudra Simha the lower denominations of both the

Mohur and the Rupee are known. It is also known that from this reign an annual coinage was initiated which suggests that it was now not only regularised but also institutionalised. It is, however, strange to note that the coronation Mohurs and Rupees were struck practically for every year throughout the reign alongwith the issues of the lower denominations. This regularity of minting money was maintained during the successive reigns. This regularity of minting coins in different denominations, particularly the smaller ones, is the most important aspect of the Ahom money outwardly supporting its nature as a money issued to facilitate exchange of goods. But the fact remains to be ascertained as the Assamese Chronicles etc. do not give much evidence of its use in transactions of an economic nature.[6] The want of mention of coins in such transactions is indeed very significant and suggestive of the fact that Ahom money was not intended as a current coin but as a gift money. It should be noted in this connection that the Ahom kings were very superstitious and performed several ceremonies from time to time and gave away liberal gifts to priests and others. Several such instances can be cited. The Buranjis contain numerous instances of gifts of gold and silver made by Ahom kings. Such references, particularly of coin issuing Ahom kings suggest that their gifts of gold and silver were in all probability made in terms of their coins. This shows that the money was not used for economic and other purposes as a general rule[7]. It was issued at the time of the coronation of a king and thereafter on the occassion of socio-religio ceremonies only.

King Gaurinatha was the first to mint the 1/32 denomination of the Mohur and the Rupee in gold and silver respectively. It has been mentioned in the *Tungkhungia Banranji*[8] with reference to the silver half anna pieces that they were struck "for convenience in giving away charities on account of paucity of cowries.". These coins were thus struck for the specific purpose of a gift money. What is true about the 1/32 rupee coins also be true not only about the other coins of small denominations struck by different Ahom kings but also about the Mohurs and Rupees.

The aforementioned discussion suggests clearly the gift money nature of Ahom coinage. However, it is possible that occassionally coins were also used in economic transactions and in exchange of services etc. But the nature of the Assamese society during most part of the Ahom rule precludes the possibility of a large scale use of coins in day to day transactions within their kingdom. As such it is certain that the coins initially were struck by Ahoms at the time of their coronation to be gifted away. Their subsequent issues, even yearly issues, were also to be gifted away on different occassions of socio-religious importance and even on occasions of a superstitious nature involving a gift of gold and silver by the king.

REFERENCES :

1. A. N. Lahiri, *Indian Museum Bulletin* Vol. II. No. 2, P.27.0
2. It was suggested by Allan that the Coins of the Bengal Sultans circulated in Assam before the introduction of coins by the Ahoms (of. N. C., IX, 1909, p. 1). This is not correct. The coins of the Bengal Sultans were no doubt known to the Ahoms but they were not used as current coins in Assam as a general rule. These may have, however, been occassionally used in transactions by early Muslim settlers from Bengal.
3. King Pratapa Simha who intiated the Ahom money struck them in 1648 A. D. i. e. in the penultimate year of his reign. Earlier scholars held that King Suklengmung initiated the Ahom coinage. But is has now been shown that the coins hitherto attributed to this king were wrongly assigned to him. These are now attributed to a subsequent king Supungmung cf J. N, Phukan, *Professar Birinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume*, 1966, pp 225-29; N. G. Rhodes, *Numismatic Circular*, Oct. 1973. 375 ; and Jai Prakash Singh, *Numismatic Circular*, (paper being published in a forthcoming issue).

4. Suhung ruled only for a brief period and is not known to have entered the *Singarighara*: Similarly Brajanatha Simha never ruled as king. He was merely a *juvaraja* of his son Purandara Simha and yet is known from his coins.
5. *Asaam Buranji* (ed. S. K. Bhuyan ; Gauhati, 1962), p.20.
6. However, it does not mean that these coins were not at all used to facilitate exchange of goods, Such instances may also be cited. But they are few.
7. Perhaps the earliest reference to the payment of salary in terms of hard cash is found in connection with Brajanath Simha who is said to have paid *darmaha* or salary to his soldiers in the form of rupees, taka (*cf. Asamar Padya Buranji* (Ed S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati), p.144. This kind of payment was probably necessitated by the fact that his army contained a large number of mercenaries recruited in Bengal.
8. *Tungkhungia Buranji* (tr. S. K. Bhuyan, London, 1933), p. 140.

Published in
Bulletin of the
Assam State Museum
No.4. 1982

DID VIŚVASIMHA ISSUE COINS?

Jai Prakash Singh

It is popularly believed that Naranarayana was the fi Koch King to issue coins. Contrary to this, the historic traditions of the Koches suggest that Viśvasimha was the fir king of the dynasty to issue coins. Some modern schol favour this view on the authority of the aforesaid traditio This view is critically examined in the following pages.

Viśvasimha was the first King who established the ind pendence and the politico-military importance of the Ko house. His formal coronation took place in 1515 A.D and he assumed the viruda Kāmateśvara. He ruled for abo twenty five years and hence the termination of his rule m be placed around A.D. 1540. His coins, if he issued any, a not known so far.

The *Rājavaṁśāvalī* of Durgadas Majumdar, a work 1863, however, gives Information about the issue of coins this King. Thus it is mentioned in this work that this kin minted coins in his thirteenth regnal year. It is this sourc that inspired some scholars to believe that Viśvasimha initia ted the Koch coinage.[1]

The *Rājavaṁśāvalī* of Durgadas Majumdar states tha Viśvasimha met the Ahom king Suhungmung in Śaka 14 (= A.D. 1497) and presented the latter five hundred horse and five hundred coins (mudrā). It is further said that th Ahom king was so much impressed by the coins presented b him that he admitted that none of his thirteen predecessors had issued any coins. Thereafter he called in the Brāhmaṇ Paṇḍitas and issued his gold coins (mohur).[2]

On the basis of this literary testimony it is held by P. K. Bhattacharyya follwing Khan Chowdhury, this

Viśvasimha minted his coins in his thirteenth regnal year. He also finds an indirect evidence in support of his contention in the *Asam Buranji*.[3] These evidences inspired him to suggest that these "make two points absolutely clear. Firstly, Viśvasimha issued coins in his own name···and that his coins may be discovered when the ruins around the old city of Kāmatāpur (modern Gosānimārī) will be excavated. Secondly the Ahom ruler got inspiration from these coins to slrike coins in his own name."[4] A large number of kings of north eastern India are now known from their coins. Had Viśvasimha really issued coins, they too must have come to light. It is difficult to believe that all his coins are lying buried in the old city of Kāmatāpur. Besides, the testimony of *Rājavamśāvalī* is not supported by any other source.[5]

It will now be appropriate to examine the Ahom sources on this and other related issues. Bhattacharyya has referred to only one of the Ahom sources-namely the *Buranji of Rudrasimha*. This work refers to an expedition sent by an Ahom king against Viśvasimha around Śaka 1405[6] (A. D. 1483). Viśvasimha acknowledged the authority of the Ahom king without any resistance and offered many presents which are not 'specified in the book'.[7] Bhattacharyya possibly wanted to find the present of coins made by Viśvasimha in this specification to support his hypothesis. This specification, however, is given in some other Buranji's. We shall take up these later.

It should be noted, at the very outset that king Suhungmung acended the Ahom throne in 'lakni, Plekmit (i.e. in 1504 A. D.)"[8] or somewhat earlier.[9] Hence it is hardly likely that he could have sent an expedition against Viśvasimha in A. D. 1483, as suggested by the *Buranji of Rudrasimha*. Besides, Viśvasimha is not likely to be placed earlier than A. D. 1496.[10] In fact he should be still later, as the kingdom of Kāmatā which formed a part of his territory got its independence only in A. D. 1498.

The Ahom Buranjis indicate that in A. D. 1533 Shuhungmung sent an army to the help of a fugitive ki Kāmatā. This fugitive king is unfortunately not na Hence it is difficult to identify the fugitive king. He however, have been a claimant to the throne of Nilā the last of the Kāmatā kings. Viśvasimha was sty Kāmateśvara at his coronation, hence it is possible t captured the kingdom by defeating the successors of N bara [13] These perhaps were the fugitives who sought A help to regain their lost power nnd territory.

Viśvasimha's accession is now usually placed around 1514. He ruled for about twenty five years and his terminated in A.D. 1540.[13] Thus he was a junior contemporary of Shuhungmung. The Ahom and Koch sources together seem to refer to them thrice : (1) in 1532 when Ahom army pursued Turbak upto Karatoyā, the region was then under Viśvasimha,[14] (2) in 1537, when Viśvasimha with his brother Śiśu (or Śivasimha) visited the Ahom c and (3) when Viśvasimha attempted an unsuccessful in of the Ahom territory. Unfortunately the exact date of expedition of Viśvasimha is not known with certainty. possible, however, to argue that this Koch invasion may taken place between A.D. 1537[15] and 1539.

Now we come to the problem of the gifts or pre offered by Viśvasimha to the Ahom king Shuhungmung Kāmākhyā temple, as stated earlier. The gifts offered by Koch king are not specified in the *Buranji of Rudrasimha* in some other chronicles they are specified. Thus, the king is said to have offered five horses. It is not abso clear as to when these horses were given to the Ahoms presumably they were given in A. D. 1532-33, when Ahom army marched upto Karatoya, in the Koch king This advance may have necessitated a fresh demarcation boundaries between the two kingdoms. It is said in Buranjis that five horses were given and Kalang river was

s the boundary line.[17] The question of a fresh fixation of he boundary between the Koch and Ahom kingdoms could ot have come up at any time subsequent to 1532-33.

In Lakni Rungmut (i.e. A.D. 1537), in the month of inching (Aghon), Sisu and Bisu (Sivasimha and Visvasimha), oming from the village Shikana, offerred Chaopha Shuhung-ung, "two horses, one white and the other grey, a pictured rdle, a large spotted fly brush, twenty fly brushes, a long set f pearl and a bead of coral". The Ahom king reciprocated y giving them some cows and buffaloes.[18]

There is no question of any exchange of gifts between the oeh and Ahom kings subsequent to A.D. 1537. Visvasimha eems to have made an ignominious retreat in 1537 or 1539 aving failed in his expedition against the Ahoms. It appears om the above that Koches offered present to the Ahom king ice in 1532-33 and then in 1537. In the first instance, they ve five horses aud in the second two horses and certain her valuable objects. Thus, none of the Ahom Buranjis ontain any reference to the presentation of gold or any other oins by Visvasimha to Shuhungmung. Hence, the Koch radition regarding the presentation of five hundred gold coins o the Ahom king by Visvasimha is incorrect and was concie-ed of at a later date to emphasize the backwardness of the homs[19] as compared to the Koches; by the latter's court istorian.

There is another evidence that may be used to indicate hat Visvasimha issued coins. The tradition, referred to bove, gives credit to Visvasimha for having repaired the amakhya temple. In this connection it is said that he placed gold or silver coin between each set of two bricks. It may e true that Visvasimha gave donations of at least some gold oins to the temple but this does not prove that these necessa-y were coins minted by him. Similarly even if we presume at he made a present of some gold coins to Shuhumgmung at also does not necessarily mean that they were coins issued

by him. Since no coins of Visvasimha are known to this date it cannot be established with certainty that the coins presented by him to the temple were his own issues. The possibility of the discovery of his coins, if he issued any, cannot perhaps be altogether denied. But till this is done, it cannot be held that Visvasimha issued coins.

Foot Note :

1. Amanatulla Ahmad, *Kooch Beharer Itihasa*, p. 281; P. K. Bhattacharya, *JNSI*, XXXII, I, pp. 42 ff; and *Indian Studies Past & Present*, X, No. 3 (1969), p. 270, f. n. 3.

2. The relevant passage of the *Rājavamśāvali* runs thus : Śuni viśva Simha bhūpa Mahānanda mane, āpana jarava tadā kari sehi kshane ; pañcha śata mudrā dilā pañchā turangama, manojava gati tāra drishti haya bhramaṇa.

   turanga dekhiyā mana ranga atiśaya, apara jarava dekhi haila vismaya ; bale mama vamśa-madhye trayodaśa jana rājatva kariyā svarge karilā gamana. tathāpi jarava nāhi kare kona Bhūpa, ejarava dekhilām ati aparūpa ; ehi mata ālochiyā Äsama īśvara, Brāhmana pandita āni rachilā mohar. Quoted by Bhattacharyya in *JNSI* XXXII, II, pp. 42-43.

3. *Asam Buranji* (Gunabhiram Barua), p. 249. It states āru vehārata Viśvasimha rajār pūrve kona taka nā chhila'. This is taken to suggest that Viśvasimha was the first ruler to issue coins in his name. Cf. P. K. Bhattacharyya, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. I, p. 51. Viśvasimha is also credited to have repaired the Kāmākhyā temple and having placed a gold coin in between each set of two bricks, as we shall see later.

4. *JNSI*, XXXII, I, p. 43.

Except the *Assam Burauji* of Gundhiram Barua. This work was first published from Calcutta in 1876 and gives a history of Assam upto the year 1875.

This is apparently wrong as Viśvasimha cannot be placed earlier than 1496 A.D. Bhattacharyya has himself pipced Viśvasimha's initial year in 1496 A.D.

JNSI, XXXII, I, p. 42.

Ahom Buranji (Trs. by Golapchandra Barua), p. 54 ; Cf. also *Asom Buranji Sara*, p. 17.

Assam Buranji (Harakanta Barua), p. 23, places his accession in Śaka 1419 (A.D. 1497).

Ibid. Bhattacharyya also seems to accept this date for the kings installation. *JNSI*, XXXII, I, p. 41.

H. C. Goswami, *Purani Assam Buranji*, pp. 61-63 ; *Deodhai Assam Buranji*, p. 99. But this account seems confused with the second expendition sent against Turbak in A.D. 1532-33 as the army sent to restore the unnamed kāmatā king. Cf. Lakshmi Devi, *Ahom-Tribal Relations*, pp. 211-12.

One Nāgāksha is known as the king of Kāmatāpur after Nilāmbara (Cf. N.N. Acharyya, *The History of Medieval Assam*, pp. 178-179). Chandan and Madan, two brothers, are also known to have established a shortlived kingdom in the vicinity of Kāmatāpur (Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 188) and controlled its major parts. Of these, Nāgāksha or his successors, Durlabha or Durlabhendra and Suchāruchandra, were the feudatories of the Ahoms,

N. N. Acharyya, *The History of Medieval Assam* (THMA), (Guwahati, 1966), pp. 189, 192-93.

It is not impossible to presume that Viśvasimha may have accepted Ahom anthority to avoid retention of his territories by the latter. The Ahom general may not even have actually marched against the Koch king. Whatever the natnre of the Ahom expention against this Koch king,

the latter's gesture earned for him the whole of his kingdom from the victorious Ahom general.

15. *Darrang Raj Vamsavali* (p. 57), however, suggests that this invasion took place in A.D. 1537 and that Viśvasimha lived for sometime after this expendition (*ibid.*, p. 51), as cited by Acharyya, *THMA*. p. 193, f.n. 3 & 2 respectiveiy.

16. Cf. *Asam Buranji Sara* (of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan), p. 20 ; and Assam Buranji (of Harakanta Barua), p. 28. The Ahom sources do not refer to any present of 500 horses and 500 coins by Visvasimha. Hence it is possible that the offer of 5 horses in 1532-33 as detailed in Assamese sources was later exaggerated by Durgadas Majumdar as a present of 500 horses and 500 coins to the Ahom king.

17. Ibid.

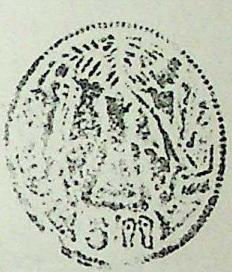
18. Cf. *Ahom Buranji* (Trs. by Golap chandra Barua), p. 77. These are also listed in *Deodhai Assam Buranji*, (Guwahati, 1962), pp. 37-38. The *Daodhai Assam Buranji*, however, states that Sisu and Bisu having learnt about the defeat of Turbak at the hands of the Ahoms came to the Ahom court to seek his protection. Ibid.

It seems that Durgadas Majumder mixed up the two meetings of Visvasimha with the Ahoms and fabricated a suitable story to serve his purpose. The statement in the *Rajavamsavali* that the Ahome king was so impressed by the coins offered to him by Visvasimha that he immediately decided to strike his own coins is quite suggestive. The whole statement plays down the political superiority of the Ahoms over the Koches by giving so much importance to the issue of coins by Shuhungmung.

Observations on SIKH Tokens

by *Jai Prakash Singh, Banaras Hindu Univ., Varanasi, INDIA*

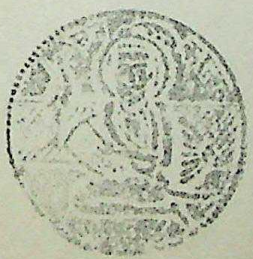
We propose to discuss herein some new varieties of Sikh tokens alongwith those published earlier. Seven of these tokens are from the collection of Shri Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad, who was kind enough to provide their impressions to me for publication. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to him. The last token is in the possession of Shri Bhupinder Singh Rakhra of Jorhat, Assam. I am equally thankful to him for permitting me to publish details of his token herein.



1. Metal: base metal; size: 1.10". Weight: 180 grains.

Obverse: Govind Singh, sitting *'do-jami'* to left, but with head facing, resting on a bolster - *masnad*, holding a rod in left hand on which his favorite bird is perched. He is shown wearing a turban or crown studded with gems. A halo is seen around his head, a *turrah* emanates from the halo above the left corner of his turban. The Guru is seated possibly on a rug and behind him is tulles parrapet. Legend in *Nagari* characters*Sata Karatāra* or "true lord" (from 11 o'clock). Date below Guru's legs in *Nāgarī* numerals 1804 (VS) = 1746 A.D.

Reverse: Guru Nanak, nimbate seated cross-legged, facing, resting on a bolster, wearing a cap or turban. The Guru is shown seated under a tree, flanked by Mardānā, holding a *Rabāb* (or *Sārangī*) on his right, and Bālā, holding a fly whisk on his left. A lotā and a pair of Khadāun(i) in front of the Guru's leg. No legend.



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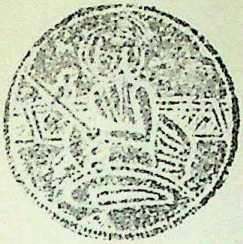
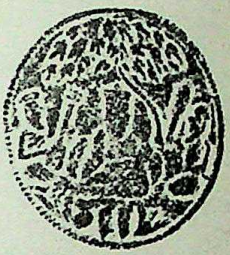


6. Details as No. 5.

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As No. 3.



7. Metal: White metal; Size: 1.15"; Weight: 200 grains.

Obverse: As above with legend in *Nāgarī* characters (from 1 o'clock) *Hajur Sāhab*.

Reverse: As above.

The last token found from Assam is of the same type as No. 1 listed above. Its details are not available.

8. Obverse: Guru Govind Singh seated as on No. 1, with the same legend and date.

Reverse: As No. 1.[3]

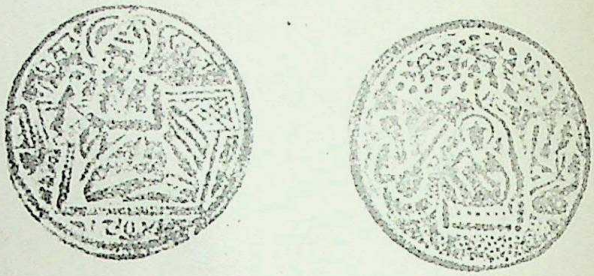
This coin is yellowish and was found to have contained a touch of gold. Its condition is very good. It was on the basis of this knowledge that I asked Shri Kaus to examine his coins and ascertain if they too contained a trace of gold or silver. In his letter dated 16th May 1981, Shri Kaus informed that coins No. 1, 2, 5 and 7 are gilded with gold. The gilding is faint on Nos. 2 and 5 but quite good on Nos. 1 and 7. Nos. 3, 4 and 6 are not gilded. All the coins, however, are of some white metal. This shows that the coin known to us from Assam is also gilded with gold and is like Nos. 1 and 7 of Kaus in this respect[4].

Some Sikh tokens of the type are published by Irwin F. Brotman[5]. In all he has published ten Sikh tokens, nine out of which contain the same depiction, Nanak on obverse and Govind Singh on reverse. These nine coins of Brotman stylistically belong to the same category as ours. Our tokens numbered 1, 2 and 8 compare well with TG 4, 9 and 10 of Brotman. Our token number 4 is similar to his TG 1. Our no. 5 generally

2. Metal: White metal; Size: 1.10". Weight: 180 grains.

Obverse: As above.

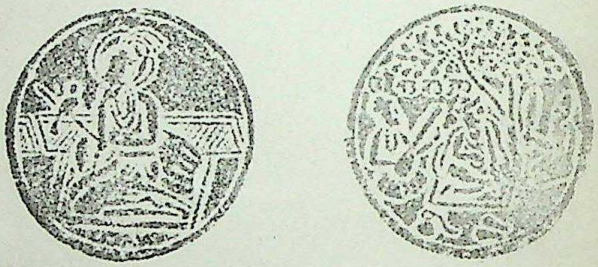
Reverse: As above.



3. As. No. 2.

Obverse: As above but with the legend *Om Sata Karatara*[2] in *Gurmukhi* script, and the date 1804 in *Nagari* numerals.

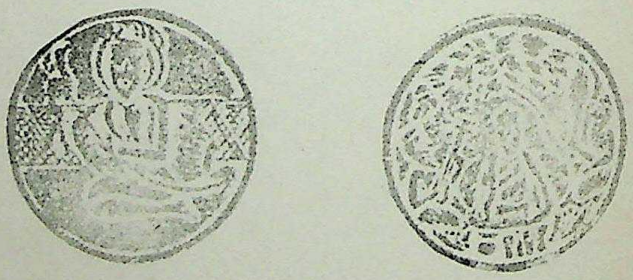
Reverse: As above. The Guru is seated here without the bolster. Lotā and Khadāun also are not shown.



4. Details as No. 2 but with weight 190 grains.

Obverse: As above but without legend.

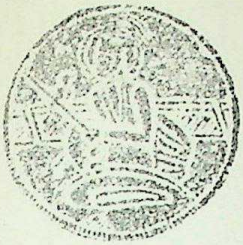
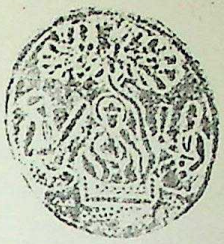
Reverse: As above, with the bolster. Legend in *Gurmukhi* script. *Om Satara Kartāra* below the leaves of the tree.



5. Details as Nos. 2 and 3.

Obverse: As above.

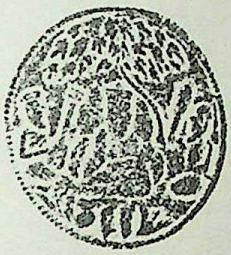
Reverse: As No. 2. Without any legend on either side.

6. Details as No. 5.

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As No. 3.



7. Metal: White metal; Size: 1.15"; Weight: 200 grains.

Obverse: As above with legend in *Nāgarī* characters (from 1 o'clock) *Hajur Sāhab*.

Reverse: As above.

The last token found from Assam is of the same type as No. 1 listed above. Its details are not available.

8. Obverse: Guru Govind Singh seated as on No. 1, with the same legend and date.

Reverse: As No. 1.[3]

This coin is yellowish and was found to have contained a touch of gold. Its condition is very good. It was on the basis of this knowledge that I asked Shri Kaus to examine his coins and ascertain if they too contained a trace of gold or silver. In his letter dated 16th May 1981, Shri Kaus informed that coins No. 1, 2, 5 and 7 are gilded with gold. The gilding is faint on Nos. 2 and 5 but quite good on Nos. 1 and 7. Nos. 3, 4 and 6 are not gilded. All the coins, however, are of some white metal. This shows that the coin known to us from Assam is also gilded with gold and is like Nos. 1 and 7 of Kaus in this respect[4].

Some Sikh tokens of the type are published by Irwin F. Brotman[5]. In all he has published ten Sikh tokens, nine out of which contain the same depiction, Nanak on obverse and Govind Singh on reverse. These nine coins of Brotman stylistically belong to the same category as ours. Our tokens numbered 1, 2 and 8 compare well with TC 4, 9 and 10 of Brotman. Our token number 4 is similar to his TC 1. Our no. 5 generally

seems to compare with his TG 7 and 8. TG Nos. 5 and 10 are crude and seem to be from the same die. TG 6 is also of the same class. TG Nos. 4 through 10 bear the legend *Sata Karatāra* in Nāgarī characters and the date 1804 in Nāgarī figures. TG Nos. 7 and 8 bear the legend *Sata Karatāra* at the same place, as in the previous group, but are not dated. TG No. 3 also contains the same legend but it bears the date 400, both in Nāgarī characters and numerals, respectively. TG 1 is not dated but it contains *Om Sata Karatāra* in *Gurumukhī* characters on the obverse. The reverse of TG 2 contains the *Mūla Mantra* in Gurumukhī and the date Samvat 1955[6].

The principal motifs depicted on our coins are like those published by Brotman, yet our coins seem to present some new variations, especially Nos. 3, 6 and 7.

The bird perched on the rod held by the Guru on Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7 and 8 is of a larger size than the ones on Nos. 3, 4 and 6. The smaller bird may be a parrot[7]. But the larger bird is a different one. It has a long tail and a long neck and a beak as compared to the small bird. The two sets of tokens thus show the Guru in the company of two different pet birds. The tokens in the collection of Shri Hurmuz Kaus, were obtained from Panjab and the Hyderabad State of Nizam, of pre-independence days. The Sikhs of Hyderabad are a flourishing community as elsewhere and can be grouped in two sections. Of these, one section is of those Sikhs that came to Hyderabad before Independence and the other that came during the post-Independence period. There are two *Guruduaras* also - old and new - in Hyderabad.

Since the Sikh coins are dated in the *Vikram Samvat*, the date of the tokens, 1804, is also likely to be in the same era. Thus (*V.S.* 1804-57) 1746 A.D. is the year of issue of some of these. The pieces that are without any date may or may not be later. A coin of Brotman[8] bears the year 400. There is no trace of any numeral at the place of thousands. Hence possibly this piece is not dated in the same era as that of 1804. Guru Nanak was born in 1469 A.D. The year 400 is perhaps related to this date. If this is correct then (1469+400=) 1869 A.D. would be the date of its issue. This shows that all known Sikh tokens were struck in the 18th and 19th centuries. The pieces that are not dated, also roughly belong to the same period.

That these pieces are not coins is clear from their depictions and the legends. They are totally different from the known regular coins of the Sikhs. Hence also they can be taken only as some kind of tokens.

It was commonly believed that Ranjit Singh (1799-1838/9) started coins with *Gurumukhī* legends. But at least some of the pieces discussed above are definitely earlier than Ranjit Singh, who is also known to have issued a coin depicting Guru Nanak and his Muslim disciple Mardānā[9], perhaps following the pattern of these pieces. These tokens may have been issued by some individuals at Amritsar, to be sold to Sikhs and others for worship, etc. Their issue in base metals shows that they were struck only for such pilgrims to the temple as may have required them for religious and devotional purposes. The gilded and base silver pieces were perhaps meant for richer pilgrims and may have occasionally been used to cheat unsuspecting believers, as gold or silver pieces. As religious tokens these are comparable with the different types of Rāmatankis.

They however, do not seem to contain fictitious dates like some of the Rāmatankas[10].

The earliest Sikh coins were issued in 1710 A.D., after the conquest of Sirhind, at Logarh, by Banda Bahadur. His coins are said to have contained the following Persian legend:

Sikka zad dar har do a'lam
tegh-i-Nanak Wahib ast
Guru Gobind Singh Shahi-Shahan
Bazl-saka Sahib ast

It is rendered to mean "coin current in both the worlds; the sword of Nanak is the provider; and Guru Govind Singh, the king of kings, is by grace the true lord"[11]. It is possible that the legend of these coins perhaps inspired these tokens. Consequently the figures of both the 1st and tenth Gurus were displayed. The tenth Guru, Govind Singh (1666-1708), however, was portrayed as a divine ruler[12] - meaning thereby that the community regarded him both as their spiritual and temporal ruler. The legends *Sata Karatāra* and *Hajur Sāhab* accompanying the 10th Guru on these tokens prove the same. It is, however, worthy of note that *om Satara Karatāra*, found on token no. 4, on the reverse, suggests its use here for Guru Nanak (1469-1539). But these expressions are used in the Sikh scriptures for the God, Almighty. The word *Om* previxed to this expression *Sata Karatāra* is perhaps an abbreviation of *Onkar* that signifies the *Niraguṇa* Reality, according to the Sikh religio-philosophical belief.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Wooden sandals worn in India even today.

[2] There is some mistake in the *Karatāra* part of the legend. The *Gurumukhī* letters are *ra ka ta* which should have been *karatā*. The last letter is *Nāgarī*, *Ja* instead of *Gurumukhī*, *ra*. This part of the legend shows that the die-cutter was inexperienced and perhaps his knowledge of *Gurumukhī* imperfect.

[3] The impression of Token No. 8 is not illustrated.

[4] Some coins published by Brotman (*A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India*, Los Angeles, Calif. 1970, pp. 144 ff.) are of Silver (TG 1-2), base silver (TG 3-5), billon (TG 6-7) and brass (TG 8-10).

[5] I am thankful to Mr. D.M. Metcalf of the Ashmolean Museum for having referred me to Brotman's *A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India*. I am very grateful to Irwin F. Brotman for sending a copy of the book to me through my sister-in-law, Mrs. Prabha Singh. I must also thank her for all the trouble she took in this regard.

[6] Brotman, *A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India*, pp. 144 ff.

[7] The larger bird is depicted on TG Nos. 3-10 and the smaller one only on TG No. 1 of Brotman, Irwin F., *A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India*, pp. 144 ff.

[8] *ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

[9] C.J. Brown (*The coins of India*, Bombay, 1922, p.107) states that a "curious rupee of Lahor of Samvat 1885 displays the figures of Guru Nanak and his Muhammadan follower, Mardana". The coin referred to by Brown figures in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*

of Bengal, Vol. 50, Pt. 1, Pl. VI, 23. -- Dr. Madanjit Kaur in her forthcoming monograph entitled '*A Study of Sikh Numismatics with Special Reference to the Coins of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Successors*' has also discussed the coin. Her book is being published by GNDU, Amritsar. I am very thankful to her for these references.

[10] All the Rāmaṭankas do not contain fictitious dates. Some of th also contain the year of their manufacture as 1700 and 1740. these as well as the fictitious dates on Rāmaṭankis, see the c illustrated by Irwin F. Brotman (*A Guide to the Temple Tokens India*, pp. 42 ff.).

[11] P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 135-6.

[12] It was perhaps due to this belief that Govind Singh is always dressed as a king and provided with a halo around his head.

(Editor's Note: The author of this article, Dr. Jai Prakash Singh, places the side with Govind Singh as the obverse and Guru Nanak as the reverse; while author Brotman in his book places the sides in reverse order. This accounts for the reversal of names in this wor of Dr. Singh on page 359.)

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FROM THE MAILBOX

Appreciative of Ethiopia Salt Money article

Wilhelm Eglseer's article in the October *BULLETIN* on the salt money of Ethiopia brought back some pleasant memories. I had heard about the Amolis before I went to Asmara in 1973 and was determined that it was at all possible, I would get one for my collection. It was not an easy task. Despite the fact that salt is still dug out of Danakil and transported into the highlands in much the same way as has been done for centuries, it now is mostly ground up for use as salt and not as money. I found no blocks for sale in any of the A mara market places and due to the unsettled political conditions a the time I could not extend my search off the plateau. During thi same period I was buying Maria Theresia thalers from a young Ethio ian who came to my house each Friday afternoon. To him I expresse my wish for a salt block and sat back to wait, hoping that he coul find one before I had to leave. To my delight he came pedalling i one afternoon about a month before we left with a 2 x 7 x 10 inch block wrapped in an old newspaper. I would have loved to have bee able to follow its route exactly but this I do know. It has trave led by camel, truck, bus, bicycle and foot, and since by plane, bo and car so it can at least hold its head up among the existing sal blocks of the world. It is still the favorite of my collection a an excellent conservational piece.

Granvyl G. Hulse, Jr.
Colebrook, New Hampshire

BULLETIN
OF
THE ASSAM STATE MUSEUM

No. IV, 1982

Raychaudhuri, Calcutta, 1953 (6th Ed.)

PIHC ..... Proceedings of the Indian History Congress

PKD ..... Purani Kamarupar Dharmar Dhara, B. K. Kakati, Guwahati, 1955

PS ..... Prachya Sasanavali, M. Neog, Gauhati, 1974

RSPP ..... Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika

SEHA ..... Studies in the Early History of Assam, K. L. Barua, Guwahati, 1973

SGAMI .....Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, D. C. Sircar, Varanasi, 1960

SHI ..... Sources of the History of India, Vol. III, edit. by N. R. Ray, Calcutta, 1980

SI ..... Select Inscriptions, D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1942

SP ..... Sakta Pithas. D. C. Sircar, Varanasi, 1973 (2nd Ed.)

VIJ ..... Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal

WKAS ..... Works of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, edit. by C. N. Sarma, Guwahati, 1920

YT ..... Yogini Tantra, S. S. Saraswati, Nababharat Ed., Calcutta, 1978

DID SHUHUNGMUNG ISSUE COINS[1] ?

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

There is a late Koch chronicle *Rājavamśāvalī* by Durgadas Majumdar[2] which suggests that the Ahom King Shuhungmung issued his coins on the model of those of Viśvasiṁha. It is said that Viśvasiṁha once presented his contemporary Ahom king, five hundred horses and five hundred coins. The Ahom king was fascinated with these coins and issued his own mohurs thereafter on their pattern. Koch king Viśvasiṁha's coins if any are not known. Besides the evidence of *Rājavamśāvalī* is not corroborated by any other source. It makes one believe that king Shuhungmung. the Āhom contemporary of Viśvasiṁha had not seen any coins, therefore, he was so impressed by the coins presented to him by Viśvasiṁha that he immediately decided and later perhaps issucd his own specie. We do not see any reson why this late nineteeth century work should be relied upon so much on an issue that is not corroborated by any other evidence.

Āhom chronicles do not contain any reference with regard to this present of gold coins to Shuhungmung, although they refer to presents given to him by Viśvasiṁha on two different occassions. These presents are specifically listed in Assames chronicles as given in the form of horses and other precious objects.[3] Thus the specific listing of the items presented to the Āhom king by Viśvasiṁha renders the Koch tradition of presenting 500 gold coins to Shuhungmung not only doubtful but also totally incorrect.[4]

There are, however, other references in Assamese chronicles that suggest that king Shuhungmung was familiar with the use of coins. Thus he is said to have received a thousand rupees from the Kachārī King Detsheng[5] on one occasion.

On another occasion, the Āhoms had besieged the Kachārīs who had revolted, Kachārīs offered the Āhoms two horses and two thousand rupees to withdraw.[6] This was refused. Then the victorious Āhom army got eighty bags of silver coins[7], as boot, after the defeat of Turbak, the Sultan of Bengal.

The case of Kachārī coins is somewhat doubtful.[8] It is, however, possible that they may have offered the Ahoms coins of the Bengal Sultans. Turbak's treasure contained a box full of gold (coins ?) and eighty bags of silver coins. Shuhungmung must have seen at last a few of these piecs personally. But he did not feel any necessity to issue his own coins. Therefore, it is highly unlikely to presume that he issued coins on the pattern of the fictitious money of Viśvasiṁha.

Some historical traditions of Assam indicate that Shuhungmung alias Dihingiā rājā helped monetarily in the excavation of a tank attached to the Jagannath Temple at Puri. This project is said to have cost 200 gold coins. On the basis of this tradition, it has been held by some "that Dihingiārājā minted coins."[9] This is assuming perhaps too much on the basis of too little evidence. Shuhungmung may have helped monetarily in this religious project but that does not mean that he minted his own coins. He may have sent other coins that were easily accessible to him as pointed out earlier.

Thus, there is no evidence to show that king Shuhungmung issued coins in his name.

References :

1. This paper was presented at the Banglore conference of the Numismatic Society of India on 28.3.1980.
2. Quoted by P. K. Bhattacharyya in Journal of Numismatic Society of India XXXII, I, pp. 42-43.

3. Elsewhere we have shown on the basis of Āhom historical tradition that Viśvasiṁha and the Āhoms met twice. Their first meeting involving an exchange of presents was in 1532-33 when the Ahom army was coming home after defeating and pursuing Turbak as far as Karatoya river in the Koch territory. Viśvasiṁha met the Āhom general, presented five horses for the Ahom king and accepted his authority. On another occasion Viśvasiṁha with his younger brother visited the Āhom court and presented two horses and a number of precious objects but no coins.

4. It appears to us that the Koches retained the tradition of the two meetings of Viśvasiṁha with the Ahoms. Durgadas Majumdar seems to have diliberately mixed up both these meetings. Thus, Viśvasiṁha is not known to have met his Āhom contemporary in 1532-33 A. D. He meet an Āhom general and presented five horses only according to the Assames chronicles. Durgadas Majumdar raised the number of horses presented to five hundred and an equal number of mohurs. He also brought in the Āhom king on the scene. The next time Viśasiṁha met the Āhom king with his brother, at the latters' court, he presented only two horses to him and some other objects but no coins. Thus, it appears that Majumdar twisted deliberately the tradition to emphasise the superiority of the Koch king.

5. *cf Āhom Burañjī* (trs. Golap Chandra Barua), pp. 65-66. It says that the Kachārī king Detscheng sent his brother with an offer of his sister and 200 rupees to the Āhom king to seek his help against Khuntara. The Āhom King demanded one thousand rupees in addition to the princess and an elephant in 1531 A. D. The Kachāris complied with this demand.

6. *Ibid.* p. 76.

7. *Ibid.* p. 73. Herein is ennumerated the booty that the Ahoms seized from Turbak's army—"28 elephants, 850 horses, a great number of big and small guns and cannons, a box full of gold and 80 bags of silver coins."

8. The earliest Kachārī coins are those of Meghanārāyaṇa, dated 1498 Śaka.

9. P. C. Choudhury, *Assam Burañjī Sāra*, Intro. pp. 13-14.

JAINA SYMBOLISM : A SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

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The purpose of symbols is to set forth in visible likeness what can not be really expressed to the physical eye or even clearly conceived by the limited faculties of the human mind.[1] Human mind learnt to conceive of the Highest Divinity not in the absolute likeness of Him but rather in aniconic represention from evry arly times.[2]

The introduction of Jina image seems to be a some what later development. The polished mutilated torso of a Jina image obtained from Lohanipur near Patna shows that at least in the third century B. C. or even earlier, worship of the Jina image had started. The origin of the Jina image is traced by some to the Pre-Maurya times on the basis of an information furnished by the Hāthigumphā cave Inscription that Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, brought back a Jina image that had been Previously taken away by the Naada king. (*Nandarāja nitam Kaliṅga Jinam-saṁnivesa*)[3] It appears, therefore, that the idol worship was not popular among the Jainas at least upto the beginning of the fourth century B. C. Till the introduction of the worship of the Jina image, it may be reasonably held, the Jain devotees clung to the worship of auspicious symbols. Even after the introduction of the image worship in Jainism, auspicious symbols continued to be associated with the image of Jina. This will be evident from a study of the Jaina antiquities discovered in Mathurā.[4]

The auspicious symbols of he Jainas are well represented in the *Āyāgapatas* or votive tablets discovered in Mathurā In the votive tablet dedicated by Sihanādikā are to be found

HINDU ART AND ARCHITECTURE--AN APPRAISAL

B. N. Puri

Art symbolises man's effort to provide a concrete outlet to his inner feelings. It is religious when the attempt is directed to create a representation of the God—a receptable of the divine spirit with a view to establish relations with that One. In his endeavour to propitiate the deity man introduces ornamental elements for decoration and elaboration of his deity's power and prestige, as also symbolising his faith and devotion. Art, therefore, is primarily religious in character, but it also caters to the secular needs of man—his habitation with a touch of aesthetic taste. Patterns evolved with experiments on religious and secular planes take the form of canons or laws of architecture. These in course of time become traditional. As such, ornamentation of the deity based on his iconographic features is also standardised in course of time. Further, local influences or foreign impacts stimulate artistic activity, and the process continues with the contribution of different ethnic elements and on a wider scale in different regions.

The field of art, is, however, wide with its three main planks—architecture, sculpture and painting. The term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal providing sensations in three different ways—by the treatment of walls, proportions of windows, the relation of wall-space to window space of one storey to another, the treament of the exterior of the building with the rythm of projections and recensions, and the treatment of the interior. The good architect also needs the help of the sculptor as well as the painter, whenever necessary. The former freezes his emotion in stone or metal, in the walls of the temple, in its interior, and also carves out independent pieces in the round as well as in the intaglio. Painting is a more tender art with the use of colour and brush on the walls as fresco or tempera or as independent pieces.

Artist's anonymity

Hindu India provides examples and illustrations of all the three types of artistic activities, aiming at uniform level of spiritual curiosity and artistic devotion. An interesting feature

of Indian art is the artist's anonymity, anxious to merge his personality with the God or the object of his work. He sublimes himself into a higher being, spiritually, not materially, symbolising the mystic transcendence of the sublime and the noble. The study of this art in its various facets can be undertaken in historical and regional forms from the period of the Indus valley civilization of the Pre-Aryan times to the temples of the twelfth century A.D., and from the art of Gandhara in the extreme northwest to that under the Pallavas and the Cholas in the South. The Indus civilization does not provide any temples being erected in that area or within its periphery. The lay-out of the city suggests a high degree of civic sense, with well-laid out broad streets and houses in close alignment in another direction. There is, however, nothing of aesthetic sense in any of these designs and structures.

The Mauryan Phase

Vedic mounds—the precursors of the stupas of the Buddhists have some claim for an earlier dating. The well known mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar, containing deposits of human bones and charcoal with a small goldleaf with the figure of a female—supposed to be Mother goddess impressed on it, are the solitary examples of Pre-Mauryan architecture. The cyclopean walls and remains of dwellings in the old city of Rajagriha in Bihar could also be classed as Pre-Mauryan. The royal architecture of the Mauryan times, confined to the ornamental buildings, was mainly of timber. The remains of the burnt—pillared hall from Pataliputra (Patna) suggest its large dimensions and symmetrical planning. It is suggested that even Susa and Ecbatana could not vie the beauty and grandeur of the Mauryan palace. The greater achievement of this period was in the sphere of sculpture with well-chiselled stone pillars containing ornamental sculptured abacus and the crowning symbol at the top. Stupas were also set up in this period, and the cave temple architecture also had its beginning with a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar hills in Bihar.

Sunga-Andhra Art

The Sunga period (2nd century B.C.) envinces changes in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art noted for its mass and dimensions on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other takes a democratic shape and turn with the participation and contribution of the people in artistic activities. The religious aspect underlying these works of

art does not overshadow or undermine the social aspect of it, with the introduction of human elements—men, women and children, gay and cheerful, participating in it. Art in a way serves as a mirror of social life from this period onwards. It equally expresses and exposes the Indian mind in evolving iconographic concepts of divinities, demi-gods and goddesses and the heavenly nymphs. The famous stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi railings at Bodhgaya—the Besnagar column, Mathura images and rock-cut architecture in Orissa and in Maharashtra at a grand scale are the contributions of the Sunga-Andhra period. The famous stupa at Sanchi with its 60 feet diameter at the base, on a raised terrace with stairs, surrounded by railings with gateways at all the four sides is the best architectural specimen of this period. Each gateway with its two pillars standing upright with its three architraves or stone beams on both the sides, and a crowning symbol are flooded with Jataka scenes carved on them. The hanging yakshis supporting these stone beams are equally notable. The cave temple architecture—with chambers carved out of the rock serving as cellular retreats like the viharas for the Buddhist monks in Western Ghats area represent another form of artistitc and architectural activity, rather unparalleled.

Gandhara School

While the artists were engaged in creative activities, catering to the needs of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, in the North-west, the influx of Greeks and other foreigners before the Christian era inspired and stimulated the growth of another school, popularly known as Gandhara School of art. It is also called Graeco-Buddhist with the converted Greeks and others to Buddhism displaying their artistic talents in the services of the Tathagata (Buddha) whose figure was first portrayed by them. Some Hindu divinites like Shiva and Amba also find a place, rather rarely, in this school of art. On the architectural plane, Gandhara is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs and animal motifs in decoration. Stupas and viharas were ornamented with these designs. Now the ground plan of ancient models of Gandhara architecture, stone capitals and pillars are the solitary remains of the once existing munificent structures. The Cornithian columns, pilasters and capitals are, however, modified, and the introduction of the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattva into the foliage is a new feature suggesting Indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also introduced in architectural designs.

Mathura Art

Contemporary with the school of Gandhara was that at Mathura—both enjoying the patronage of the Kushna rulers. While the first century and a half of the Christian era represents the most critical period in the history of art in India, the second to the fourth century is that of highest achievement. The prolific school of Mathura is of primary importance for evolving the types that could be traced at all times. The so-called Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period (4th century—6th century) does not represent a reaction but rather the flowering and culmination of the previous experiment under the Kushanas. The figure of the Buddha, formerly represented by the symbols under the Sungas, was evolved very probably at the same time in Mathura as in Gandhara. Others—Buddhist divinities—Bodhisattavas, Jain Tirthankaras and even Hindu gods are also presented in Mathura art along with secular scene carved out on pillar jambs and doorways. The reliefs of Amravati in the south, dating from the early second century A.D. and later, adorning the great stupa with the largest and most richly decorated stone railing ever constructed, surrounding it, also provide an interesting study of the art under the Andhras. The subject matter of the reliefs is the life of the Buddha in his previous births as portrayed in the Jatakas.

Culmination of Art under the Guptas

The Gupta period represents the efflorescnce of Indian art in all its facets. The spirit is no doubt at the height of its vitality, but maturer, more intellectually conscious, and more introspective with the expression prominent but less reserved. The Gupta art is sophisticated, gracious and sublime. The early phase represents a unified national style embodying the types which influenced later on the south eastern and far eastern developments in the realms of architecture and iconographic details. Thus, the Gupta style is unmistakably recognizable in the sculpture and architecture in Burma, Siam and Cambodia between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. The Buddha figure of the Gupta period is notable for definition and refinement, with the diaphanous robe covering one or both the shoulders, hair invariably arranged in short curls, and *ushnisha* or head dress indicated as a cranial protuberance. The finest examples have been found at Sarnath and Mathura and in relief at Ajanta. A colossal copper figure from Sultanganj in U.P. weighing more than a ton is now in the Birmingham Museum. Brahmanical sculptures of this period include the Mukhalingas (Shiva) of

admirable workmanship, reliefs of Vishnu, Narasimha and Durga, and the magnificent Boar incarnation (Varahavatara) at Udaigiri, Ramayana scenes from the basement of the late Gupta temple at Deograh and sculptures of the Ramesvara cave, Ellora. The famous paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, on the walls of excavated Buddhist cave temples also belong for the most part to this period. The subjects of all are Buddhist, representing Jataka scenes.

Temple Architecture

The Gupta period is equally notable for brick temple architecture. Its chief features are a square sanctum with a flat roof, plain interior, dressed stone mansonry finally set without the use of mortar, a raised plinth divided into squares. The sanctum cella (*Garbhagriha*) has an exquisitely carved doorway decorated with foliage pattern, human figures, and those of Ganga and Yamuna occupying the upper corners of the jambs. A shallow porch in front of the richly carved doorway is later on developed into a pillared portico. The doorway leading to the sanctum served as a decorative outer frame with the image of the deity installed in the cella. The Gupta temples now number less than dozen and are all clustered in Jhansi (U.P.) and Madhya Pradesh. The famous Brick temple from Bhitargaon (Kanpur dist.) with its several courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks, designed beautifully are in various forms like inverted lotus petal, rosettes, interlocked chain and scroll, provide an interesting example of artistic blending of the two facets of art in a single monument. The moulding designs at the basement and the pyramidal sikhara and vertical bands forming the facade and the earliest form of true arch are the main features of this temple. The carvings of the sculpture, the pillars with their capitals of the vase and foliage (*purna kalasa*) pattern, and the doorway are of the typical Gupta style.

The flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period, continuing the traditions of the earlier stupas and rock-cut caves mark the beginning of a new architectural set-up which lasted for more than four hundred years. The Indo-Aryan temple type, popularly called Nagara was shaped in this period, clearly distinguishing itself from the southern one. An era of temple building activity followed with intensity and concentration, of course, marked with regional differences and disparities. These were more prominent in the temples of Central India and those in Orissa. Generally known by the name of Nagara, the North

Indian temples, distinguished from those of the South known as Dravida, and of the Deccan, called *vesara*, have horizontal tiers in the exterior form and circular plan of the sanctuary (*vimana*). The surmounting part is known as *sikhara* which is pointed in these temples. The essential plan includes the inner chamber (*garbhagriha*) for the divine image, the pavilion or *mandapa* for the assembly of the devotees and the *antarala*—a vestibule connecting the *vimana* and the *mandapa*, and the circumbulatory passage (*pradakshina patha*) around the sanctum.

Orissan Temples

The Orissan temples form a compact and homogenous architectural group. The temple building activity in this part reached its culmination in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The temple here have a common structural plan with two apartments. The *deul* enshrines the image and is surmounted by a tower. The antarala or porch in front of this is known as the *Jagamohan*. It is usually square-shaped and has a pyramidal roof. Sometimes one or two more *mandapas* are added in the same alignment in front of the *Jagamohan*. These are the *natamandir* or dancing hall and the *bhogamandir* or the dining hall for the deity. Among the Orissan temples the Lingaraja at Bhuvaneshwar is acclaimed as the finest example of Hindu temple architecture. The famous Sun temple at Konarak, about 32 Km. north-east of Puri was constructed in the time of Narasimhadeva (1238—64) when the Orissan temple building activity was at its apex. The structure as a whole is conceived of as a chariot (ratha) on 24 wheels with the god Sun riding on it. The sculpture embellishing the immense outer surface has a charm of its own with fantastic human and animal forms carved in stone.

Khajuraho Temples

In Central India, the Khajuraho group of temples built between 950 and 1050 AD, numbering now only 20 out of the original 85 are masterpieces of Indian temple architecture with a blending of aesthetic talent and devotion. These free standing temples present an architectural synthesis with graceful proportions and ground surface decoration. The three compartments in the temples—the sanctum proper (*garbhagriha*), the reception centre (*mandala*) and the entrance portico (*ardha mandapa*) are arranged in a crucifix manner. The notable architectural features are a number of vertical projections with the range of open porches and overhanging caves running horizontally

around the temple for providing light inside. The exterior is decorated with parallel friezes in high relief.

Temples in Western and Southern India

The temples in Western and Southern India have certain peculiarities symbolical of this regional differences. While the Northern temples are marked by the curvilinear *sikhara,* the Southern ones have a terraced pyramidal tower, of which the dome is called the *sikhara.* The temples in the central zone called Deccan combine both types and are described in the silpasastras as vesara. Among these may be mentioned the famous Laakhan temple at Aihole (c. 450 A.D.). Among the Chalukyan temples the earlier ones are in brick dating before A.D. 600. Besides Aihole, such temples are at Badami and Pattadakal. The great Virupaksha temple dedicated to Shiva as Lokesvara by the queen of Vikrmaditya II (c. 740 A. D.) is supposed to be the work of the mason from Kanchipuram in the south. The square *sikhara* consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. Chaitya window motifs are in great use.

The building activity in the Deccan culminated in the rock-cut shrines and temples at Ajanta, Ellora and also at Aurangabad. The Brahmanical caves at Ellora date from the early Chalukyan period. The Kailasa temple at Ellora was carved out of rock in the time of Krishna II. This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple. It consists of a *linga* shrines with Dravidian *sikhara,* a flat-roofed *mandapam* supported by sixteen pillars with a separate porch for the sacred bull (Nardi). The courtyard of the temple is entered through a low *gopuram* or gateway with detached shrines on the edge of the perambulation terrace of the vimana proper. There are two *dhvaja-stambhas* or pillars bearing emblems. The temple is decorated with some of the boldest and finest sculpture compositions, the most important being the demon god Ravana shaking the Kailasa. This is a common theme noticed elsewhere as well. The Shaiva shrine at Elephanta, near Bombay, is an underground excavation with the famous Trimurti—representing Shiva in his creative, preservative and destructive forms.

South-Indian Temples

The temples in Southern India form a class by themselves. The earlier ones of the Pallava styles are associated with different rulers from the sixth to the early ninth century. The famous *rathas*—chariots at Mammalipuram (Mahabali-

puram) seem to have been executed early in the seventh century. They are fashioned after the vihara or monastery, square or oblong in plan and pyramidal in elevation. The multi-storeyed structure with its barred roof might have been the precursor of the great Dravidian gopurams of six centuries later. The temples of the Chola Period (900—1150 AD) are best represented by the Brihadeswara one at Tanjore which is earlier than the other at Gangai-Konda—Chola Puram. The treatment of the exterior is simple with the tower or *vimana* being about 45 metres high which elsewhere under Rajaraja, the great (985—1018) reaches to a height of 180 metres. At the base, horizontal sections with massive cornices and a range of plasters running each of the storeyes provide a vertical but proportionate effect to this architectural piece of composition. The mass of sculpture in high reliefs in south Indian temples provides an impression of extraordinary magnificence, dynamism and great patience displayed by those who contributed towards the setting up of these temples.

Hindu Temples at Angkor Wat

A great Hindu expression beyond the confines of India is the work of those Indians who had gone to Indo-China, settled there and became the ruling class developing a high degree of civilisation from the ninth century to the thirteenth. They built great temples of which the famous Angkor Wat is the best example. Laid out on a vast scale, it stands as the focal point of a rectangular area divided into small segments. The various parts—low buildings, courts, avenues and stairways—form a long progression from the moat-protected outer walls to the inner court surmounted by porticos with cornice towers. The shrine resting on a lofty pedestal, lifts its five pagoda like pointed towers to dominate the surrounding area.

The long history of Hindu art and architecture has been one of experiments and progress with the religious theme dominating the scene everywhere. The builder and the sculptor joined hands to make the structure conform to their spiritual ideals and aspirations. Canons and rules of architecture were evolved and finally codified to provide guidelines for future architects. Enjoying royal patronage, these builders displayed their talents on a grand and massive scale. Of course, the impact of the foreigners stimulated indigenous efforts in the realm of art and architecture. It might as well be mentioned that the Buddhist and Jain art productions were not exclusive or independent of the Hindu manifestations. In fact, the Indian

artists catered to the needs of all, and besides religious themes they did not hesitate in projecting the social milieu through their works. Art served as the mirror of life. Social and religious themes of different periods and in different parts of the country were displayed, of course, with the common aim of projecting man as a part and parcel of the Infinite—the Supreme Spirit.

HINDU ART AND ARCHITECTURE— AN APPRAISAL

B. N. Puri

Art symbolises man's effort to provide a concrete outlet to his inner feelings. It is religious when the attempt is directed to create a representation of the God—a receptable of the divine spirit with a view to establish relations with that One. In his endeavour to propitiate the deity man introduces ornamental elements for decoration and elaboration of his deity's power and prestige, as also symbolising his faith and devotion. Art, therefore, is primarily religious in character, but it also caters to the secular needs of man—his habitation with a touch of aesthetic taste. Patterns evolved with experiments on religious and secular planes take the form of canons or laws of architecture. These in course of time become traditional. As such, ornamentation of the deity based on his iconographic features is also standardised in course of time. Further, local influences or foreign impacts stimulate artistic activity, and the process continues with the contribution of different ethnic elements and on a wider scale in different regions.

The field of art, is, however, wide with its three main planks—architecture, sculpture and painting. The term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal providing sensations in three different ways—by the treatment of walls, proportions of windows, the relation of wall-space to window space of one storey to another, the treament of the exterior of the building with the rythm of projections and recensions, and the treatment of the interior. The good architect also needs the help of the sculptor as well as the painter, whenever necessary. The former freezes his emotion in stone or metal, in the walls of the temple, in its interior. and also carves out independent pieces in the round as well as in the intaglio. Painting is a more tender art with the use of colour and brush on the walls as fresco or tempera or as independent pieces.

Artist's anonymity

Hindu India provides examples and illustrations of all the three types of artistic activities, aiming at uniform level of spiritual curiosity and artistic devotion. An interesting feature

of Indian art is the artist's anonymity, anxious to merge his personality with the God or the object of his work. He sublimes himself into a higher being, spiritually, not materially, symbolising the mystic transcendence of the sublime and the noble. The study of this art in its various facets can be undertaken in historical and regional forms from the period of the Indus valley civilization of the Pre-Aryan times to the temples of the twelfth century A.D., and from the art of Gandhara in the extreme northwest to that under the Pallavas and the Cholas in the South. The Indus civilization does not provide any temples being erected in that area or within its periphery. The lay-out of the city suggests a high degree of civic sense, with well-laid out broad streets and houses in close alignment in another direction. There is, however, nothing of aesthetic sense in any of these designs and structures.

The Mauryan Phase

Vedic mounds—the precursors of the stupas of the Buddhists have some claim for an earlier dating. The well known mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar, containing deposits of human bones and charcoal with a small goldleaf with the figure of a female—supposed to be Mother goddess impressed on it, are the solitary examples of Pre-Mauryan architecture. The cyclopean walls and remains of dwellings in the old city of Rajagriha in Bihar could also be classed as Pre-Mauryan. The royal architecture of the Mauryan times, confined to the ornamental buildings, was mainly of timber. The remains of the burnt—pillared hall from Pataliputra (Patna) suggest its large dimensions and symmetrical planning. It is suggested that even Susa and Ecbatana could not vie the beauty and grandeur of the Mauryan palace. The greater achievement of this period was in the sphere of sculpture with well-chiselled stone pillars containing ornamental sculptured abacus and the crowning symbol at the top. Stupas were also set up in this period, and the cave temple architecture also had its beginning with a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar hills in Bihar.

Sunga-Andhra Art

The Sunga period (2nd century B.C.) envinces changes in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art noted for its mass and dimensions on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other takes a democratic shape and turn with the participation and contribution of the people in artistic activities. The religious aspect underlying these works of

art does not overshadow or undermine the social aspect of it, with the introduction of human elements—men, women and children, gay and cheerful, participating in it. Art in a way serves as a mirror of social life from this period onwards. It equally expresses and exposes the Indian mind in evolving iconographic concepts of divinities, demi-gods and goddesses and the heavenly nymphs. The famous stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi railings at Bodhgaya—the Besnagar column, Mathura images and rock-cut architecture in Orissa and in Maharashtra at a grand scale are the contributions of the Sunga-Andhra period. The famous stupa at Sanchi with its 60 feet diameter at the base, on a raised terrace with stairs, surrounded by railings with gateways at all the four sides is the best architectural specimen of this period. Each gateway with its two pillars standing upright with its three architraves or stone beams on both the sides, and a crowning symbol are flooded with Jataka scenes carved on them. The hanging yakshis supporting these stone beams are equally notable. The cave temple architecture—with chambers carved out of the rock serving as cellular retreats like the viharas for the Buddhist monks in Western Ghats area represent another form of artistitc and architectural activity, rather unparalleled.

Gandhara School

While the artists were engaged in creative activities, catering to the needs of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, in the North-west, the influx of Greeks and other foreigners before the Christian era inspired and stimulated the growth of another school, popularly known as Gandhara School of art. It is also called Graeco-Buddhist with the converted Greeks and others to Buddhism displaying their artistic talents in the services of the Tathagata (Buddha) whose figure was first portrayed by them. Some Hindu divinites like Shiva and Amba also find a place, rather rarely, in this school of art. On the architectural plane, Gandhara is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs and animal motifs in decoration. Stupas and viharas were ornamented with these designs. Now the ground plan of ancient models of Gandhara architecture, stone capitals and pillars are the solitary remains of the once existing munificent structures. The Cornithian columns, pilasters and capitals are, however, modified, and the introduction of the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattva into the foliage is a new feature suggesting Indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also introduced in architectural designs.

Mathura Art

Contemporary with the school of Gandhara was that at Mathura—both enjoying the patronage of the Kushna rulers. While the first century and a half of the Christian era represents the most critical period in the history of art in India, the second to the fourth century is that of highest achievement. The prolific school of Mathura is of primary importance for evolving the types that could be traced at all times. The so-called Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period (4th century—6th century) does not represent a reaction but rather the flowering and culmination of the previous experiment under the Kushanas. The figure of the Buddha, formerly represented by the symbols under the Sungas, was evolved very probably at the same time in Mathura as in Gandhara. Others—Buddhist divinities—Bodhisattavas, Jain Tirthankaras and even Hindu gods are also presented in Mathura art along with secular scene carved out on pillar jambs and doorways. The reliefs of Amravati in the south, dating from the early second century A.D. and later, adorning the great stupa with the largest and most richly decorated stone railing ever constructed, surrounding it, also provide an interesting study of the art under the Andhras. The subject matter of the reliefs is the life of the Buddha in his previous births as portrayed in the Jatakas.

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admirable workmanship, reliefs of Vishnu, Narasimha and Durga, and the magnificent Boar incarnation (Varahavatara) at Udaigiri, Ramayana scenes from the basement of the late Gupta temple at Deograh and sculptures of the Ramesvara cave, Ellora. The famous paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, on the walls of excavated Buddhist cave temples also belong for the most part to this period. The subjects of all are Buddhist, representing Jataka scenes.

Temple Architecture

The Gupta period is equally notable for brick temple architecture. Its chief features are a square sanctum with a flat roof, plain interior, dressed stone mansonry finally set without the use of mortar, a raised plinth divided into squares. The sanctum cella (*Garbhagriha*) has an exquisitely carved doorway decorated with foliage pattern, human figures, and those of Ganga and Yamuna occupying the upper corners of the jambs. A shallow porch in front of the richly carved doorway is later on developed into a pillared portico. The doorway leading to the sanctum served as a decorative outer frame with the image of the deity installed in the cella. The Gupta temples now number less than dozen and are all clustered in Jhansi (U.P.) and Madhya Pradesh. The famous Brick temple from Bhitargaon (Kanpur dist.) with its several courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks, designed beautifully are in various forms like inverted lotus petal, rosettes, interlocked chain and scroll, provide an interesting example of artistic blending of the two facets of art in a single monument. The moulding designs at the basement and the pyramidal sikhara and vertical bands forming the facade and the earliest form of true arch are the main features of this temple. The carvings of the sculpture, the pillars with their capitals of the vase and foliage (*purna kalasa*) pattern, and the doorway are of the typical Gupta style.

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The Orissan temples form a compact and homogenous architectural group. The temple building activity in this part reached its culmination in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The temple here have a common structural plan with two apartments. The *deul* enshrines the image and is surmounted by a tower. The antarala or porch in front of this is known as the *Jagamohan*. It is usually square-shaped and has a pyramidal roof. Sometimes one or two more *mandapas* are added in the same alignment in front of the *Jagamohan*. These are the *natamandir* or dancing hall and the *bhogamandir* or the dining hall for the deity. Among the Orissan temples the Lingaraja at Bhuvaneshwar is acclaimed as the finest example of Hindu temple architecture. The famous Sun temple at Konarak, about 32 Km. north-east of Puri was constructed in the time of Narasimhadeva (1238—64) when the Orissan temple building activity was at its apex. The structure as a whole is conceived of as a chariot (ratha) on 24 wheels with the god Sun riding on it. The sculpture embellishing the immense outer surface has a charm of its own with fantastic human and animal forms carved in stone.

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Sunga-Andhra Art

The Sunga period (2nd century B.C.) envinces changes in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art noted for its mass and dimensions on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other takes a democratic shape and turn with the participation and contribution of the people in artistic activities. The religious aspect underlying these works of

art does not overshadow or undermine the social aspect of it, with the introduction of human elements—men, women and children, gay and cheerful, participating in it. Art in a way serves as a mirror of social life from this period onwards. It equally expresses and exposes the Indian mind in evolving iconographic concepts of divinities, demi-gods and goddesses and the heavenly nymphs. The famous stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi railings at Bodhgaya—the Besnagar column, Mathura images and rock-cut architecture in Orissa and in Maharashtra at a grand scale are the contributions of the Sunga-Andhra period. The famous stupa at Sanchi with its 60 feet diameter at the base, on a raised terrace with stairs, surrounded by railings with gateways at all the four sides is the best architectural specimen of this period. Each gateway with its two pillars standing upright with its three architraves or stone beams on both the sides, and a crowning symbol are flooded with Jataka scenes carved on them. The hanging yakshis supporting these stone beams are equally notable. The cave temple architecture—with chambers carved out of the rock serving as cellular retreats like the viharas for the Buddhist monks in Western Ghats area represent another form of artistitc and architectural activity, rather unparalleled.

Gandhara School

While the artists were engaged in creative activities, catering to the needs of Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, in the North-west, the influx of Greeks and other foreigners before the Christian era inspired and stimulated the growth of another school, popularly known as Gandhara School of art. It is also called Graeco-Buddhist with the converted Greeks and others to Buddhism displaying their artistic talents in the services of the Tathagata (Buddha) whose figure was first portrayed by them. Some Hindu divinites like Shiva and Amba also find a place, rather rarely, in this school of art. On the architectural plane, Gandhara is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs and animal motifs in decoration. Stupas and viharas were ornamented with these designs. Now the ground plan of ancient models of Gandhara architecture, stone capitals and pillars are the solitary remains of the once existing munificent structures. The Cornithian columns, pilasters and capitals are, however, modified, and the introduction of the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattva into the foliage is a new feature suggesting Indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also introduced in architectural designs.

Mathura Art

Contemporary with the school of Gandhara was that at Mathura—both enjoying the patronage of the Kushna rulers. While the first century and a half of the Christian era represents the most critical period in the history of art in India, the second to the fourth century is that of highest achievement. The prolific school of Mathura is of primary importance for evolving the types that could be traced at all times. The so-called Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period (4th century—6th century) does not represent a reaction but rather the flowering and culmination of the previous experiment under the Kushanas. The figure of the Buddha, formerly represented by the symbols under the Sungas, was evolved very probably at the same time in Mathura as in Gandhara. Others—Buddhist divinities—Bodhisattavas, Jain Tirthankaras and even Hindu gods are also presented in Mathura art along with secular scene carved out on pillar jambs and doorways. The reliefs of Amravati in the south, dating from the early second century A.D. and later, adorning the great stupa with the largest and most richly decorated stone railing ever constructed, surrounding it, also provide an interesting study of the art under the Andhras. The subject matter of the reliefs is the life of the Buddha in his previous births as portrayed in the Jatakas.

Culmination of Art under the Guptas

The Gupta period represents the efflorescnce of Indian art in all its facets. The spirit is no doubt at the height of its vitality, but maturer, more intellectually conscious, and more introspective with the expression prominent but less reserved. The Gupta art is sophisticated, gracious and sublime. The early phase represents a unified national style embodying the types which influenced later on the south eastern and far eastern developments in the realms of architecture and iconographic details. Thus, the Gupta style is unmistakably recognizable in the sculpture and architecture in Burma, Siam and Cambodia between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. The Buddha figure of the Gupta period is notable for definition and refinement, with the diaphanous robe covering one or both the shoulders, hair invariably arranged in short curls, and *ushnisha* or head dress indicated as a cranial protuberance. The finest examples have been found at Sarnath and Mathura and in relief at Ajanta. A colossal copper figure from Sultanganj in U.P. weighing more than a ton is now in the Birmingham Museum. Brahmanical sculptures of this period include the Mukhalingas (Shiva) of

admirable workmanship, reliefs of Vishnu, Narasimha and Durga, and the magnificent Boar incarnation (Varahavatara) at Udaigiri, Ramayana scenes from the basement of the late Gupta temple at Deograh and sculptures of the Ramesvara cave, Ellora. The famous paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, on the walls of excavated Buddhist cave temples also belong for the most part to this period. The subjects of all are Buddhist, representing Jataka scenes.

Temple Architecture

The Gupta period is equally notable for brick temple architecture. Its chief features are a square sanctum with a flat roof, plain interior, dressed stone mansonry finally set without the use of mortar, a raised plinth divided into squares. The sanctum cella (*Garbhagriha*) has an exquisitely carved doorway decorated with foliage pattern, human figures, and those of Ganga and Yamuna occupying the upper corners of the jambs. A shallow porch in front of the richly carved doorway is later on developed into a pillared portico. The doorway leading to the sanctum served as a decorative outer frame with the image of the deity installed in the cella. The Gupta temples now number less than dozen and are all clustered in Jhansi (U.P.) and Madhya Pradesh. The famous Brick temple from Bhitargaon (Kanpur dist.) with its several courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks, designed beautifully are in various forms like inverted lotus petal, rosettes, interlocked chain and scroll, provide an interesting example of artistic blending of the two facets of art in a single monument. The moulding designs at the basement and the pyramidal sikhara and vertical bands forming the facade and the earliest form of true arch are the main features of this temple. The carvings of the sculpture, the pillars with their capitals of the vase and foliage (*purna kalasa*) pattern, and the doorway are of the typical Gupta style.

The flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period, continuing the traditions of the earlier stupas and rock-cut caves mark the beginning of a new architectural set-up which lasted for more than four hundred years. The Indo-Aryan temple type, popularly called Nagara was shaped in this period, clearly distinguishing itself from the southern one. An era of temple building activity followed with intensity and concentration, of course, marked with regional differences and disparities. These were more prominent in the temples of Central India and those in Orissa. Generally known by the name of Nagara, the North

Indian temples, distinguished from those of the South known as Dravida, and of the Deccan, called *vesara,* have horizontal tiers in the exterior form and circular plan of the sanctuary (*vimana*). The surmounting part is known as *sikhara* which is pointed in these temples. The essential plan includes the inner chamber (*garbhagriha*) for the divine image, the pavilion or *mandapa* for the assembly of the devotees and the *antarala*—a vestibule connecting the *vimana* and the *mandapa,* and the circumbulatory passage (*pradakshina patha*) around the sanctum.

Orissan Temples

The Orissan temples form a compact and homogenous architectural group. The temple building activity in this part reached its culmination in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The temple here have a common structural plan with two apartments. The *deul* enshrines the image and is surmounted by a tower. The antarala or porch in front of this is known as the *Jagamohan.* It is usually square-shaped and has a pyramidal roof. Sometimes one or two more *mandapas* are added in the same alignment in front of the *Jagamohan.* These are the *natamandir* or dancing hall and the *bhogamandir* or the dining hall for the deity. Among the Orissan temples the Lingaraja at Bhuvaneshwar is acclaimed as the finest example of Hindu temple architecture. The famous Sun temple at Konarak, about 32 Km. north-east of Puri was constructed in the time of Narasimhadeva (1238—64) when the Orissan temple building activity was at its apex. The structure as a whole is conceived of as a chariot (ratha) on 24 wheels with the god Sun riding on it. The sculpture embellishing the immense outer surface has a charm of its own with fantastic human and animal forms carved in stone.

Khajuraho Temples

In Central India, the Khajuraho group of temples built between 950 and 1050 AD, numbering now only 20 out of the original 85 are masterpieces of Indian temple architecture with a blending of aesthetic talent and devotion. These free standing temples present an architectural synthesis with graceful proportions and ground surface decoration. The three compartments in the temples—the sanctum proper (*garbhagriha*), the reception centre (*mandala*) and the entrance portico (*ardha mandapa*) are arranged in a crucifix manner. The notable architectural features are a number of vertical projections with the range of open porches and overhanging caves running horizontally

around the temple for providing light inside. The exterior is decorated with parallel friezes in high relief.

Temples in Western and Southern India

The temples in Western and Southern India have certain peculiarities symbolical of this regional differences. While the Northern temples are marked by the curvilinear *sikhara,* the Southern ones have a terraced pyramidal tower, of which the dome is called the *sikhara.* The temples in the central zone called Deccan combine both types and are described in the silpasastras as vesara. Among these may be mentioned the famous Laakhan temple at Aihole (c. 450 A.D.). Among the Chalukyan temples the earlier ones are in brick dating before A.D. 600. Besides Aihole, such temples are at Badami and Pattadakal. The great Virupaksha temple dedicated to Shiva as Lokesvara by the queen of Vikrmaditya II (c. 740 A. D.) is supposed to be the work of the mason from Kanchipuram in the south. The square *sikhara* consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. Chaitya window motifs are in great use.

The building activity in the Deccan culminated in the rock-cut shrines and temples at Ajanta, Ellora and also at Aurangabad. The Brahmanical caves at Ellora date from the early Chalukyan period. The Kailasa temple at Ellora was carved out of rock in the time of Krishna II. This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple. It consists of a *linga* shrines with Dravidian *sikhara,* a flat-roofed *mandapam* supported by sixteen pillars with a separate porch for the sacred bull (Nardi). The courtyard of the temple is entered through a low *gopuram* or gateway with detached shrines on the edge of the perambulation terrace of the vimana proper. There are two *dhvaja-stambhas* or pillars bearing emblems. The temple is decorated with some of the boldest and finest sculpture compositions, the most important being the demon god Ravana shaking the Kailasa. This is a common theme noticed elsewhere as well. The Shaiva shrine at Elephanta, near Bombay, is an underground excavation with the famous Trimurti—representing Shiva in his creative, preservative and destructive forms.

South-Indian Temples

The temples in Southern India form a class by themselves. The earlier ones of the Pallava styles are associated with different rulers from the sixth to the early ninth century. The famous *rathas*—chariots at Mammalipuram (Mahabali--

puram) seem to have been executed early in the seventh century. They are fashioned after the vihara or monastery, square or oblong in plan and pyramidal in elevation. The multi-storeyed structure with its barred roof might have been the precursor of the great Dravidian gopurams of six centuries later. The temples of the Chola Period (900—1150 AD) are best represented by the Brihadeswara one at Tanjore which is earlier than the other at Gangai-Konda—Chola Puram. The treatment of the exterior is simple with the tower or *vimana* being about 45 metres high which elsewhere under Rajaraja, the great (985—1018) reaches to a height of 180 metres. At the base, horizontal sections with massive cornices and a range of plasters running each of the storeyes provide a vertical but proportionate effect to this architectural piece of composition. The mass of sculpture in high reliefs in south Indian temples provides an impression of extraordinary magnificence, dynamism and great patience displayed by those who contributed towards the setting up of these temples.

Hindu Temples at Angkor Wat

A great Hindu expression beyond the confines of India is the work of those Indians who had gone to Indo-China, settled there and became the ruling class developing a high degree of civilisation from the ninth century to the thirteenth. They built great temples of which the famous Angkor Wat is the best example. Laid out on a vast scale, it stands as the focal point of a rectangular area divided into small segments. The various parts—low buildings, courts, avenues and stairways—form a long progression from the moat-protected outer walls to the inner court surmounted by porticos with cornice towers. The shrine resting on a lofty pedestal, lifts its five pagoda like pointed towers to dominate the surrounding area.

The long history of Hindu art and architecture has been one of experiments and progress with the religious theme dominating the scene everywhere. The builder and the sculptor joined hands to make the structure conform to their spiritual ideals and aspirations. Canons and rules of architecture were evolved and finally codified to provide guidelines for future architects. Enjoying royal patronage, these builders displayed their talents on a grand and massive scale. Of course, the impact of the foreigners stimulated indigenous efforts in the realm of art and architecture. It might as well be mentioned that the Buddhist and Jain art productions were not exclusive or independent of the Hindu manifestations. In fact, the Indian

artists catered to the needs of all, and besides religious themes they did not hesitate in projecting the social milieu through their works. Art served as the mirror of life. Social and religious themes of different periods and in different parts of the country were displayed, of course, with the common aim of projecting man as a part and parcel of the Infinite—the Supreme Spirit.

INDIA AND THAILAND

B. N. PURI

FORMERLY known as Siam, the present country of Thailand, about 2000 kilometres long and 800 kilometres broad at its greatest width is situated in the midst of countries comprising peoples of different racial origins. It includes four widely separated divisions—the northern one covering an area larger than Ireland, the central one formed by the valley of the Meenam, the north-eastern one forming a large plateau, and finally the Thai portion of the Malay Peninsula—rather Malaysia—in the South. This clear-cut division of the country is reminiscent of the peoples of different origin living in those areas. The northern one was colonised by the Mon people of Central Thailand from the eighth century onwards and was considerably influenced by Indian cultural traditions and values which penetrated from there into the Shan States and upper Burma at a later time. The northern portion although vulnerable to Chinese influence from Western Yunnan does not betray it. Even some Chinese influence perceptible in the sloping carpet like roofing design in temple architecture seems to be comparatively late. Central Thailand was of course influenced at a much earlier period from Amaravati in India, and later on from the east, by the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia, and lastly by the Thai of the north-central region of Sawank'alok and Sukhotai. The north-eastern portion of Thailand formerly formed part of the Hinduised kingdom of Funan, and later on it was under the sway of the Khmer rulers, till its submission to the Thai who named this country after them. The southern part of Thailand was open to direct communication with India. It was first influenced by a wave of the Pallavan culture from South-East India. Later on it formed part of the Sri-Vijaya kingdom. There was still another Indian wave, this time from Bengal and Kalinga—the north-eastern part of India—in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Hinayana Buddhist influence from Ceylon in the thirteenth century A.D. finally added to the flow of the cultural influences from India and Ceylon which continues to exist even to this day in the form of Buddhism as the State religion.

History

The Thai first entered the history of South-east Asia in the eleventh century A.D. They are noticed in the list of prisoners

of different countries in the Champa inscriptions, along with Chinese, Cambodians and Burmese. In the twelfth century, the bas-reliefs of Angkorvat depict in the great procession of warriors —some soldiers in an entirely different costume—who are identified in two short inscriptions as those of Syam. They were probably Thai of the Middle Meenam valley—of the kingdom of Sukhothai. This kingdom is mentioned for the first time as 'Sien' in the 'History of the Yuan' in connection with an embassy of 1282 sent by sea to China but was intercepted by the Chams. The rapid success of the Thai in the Meenam Basin was the result of the weakening of Cambodia and also of the decline and fall of Burmese power under pressure from the Mongols.

In fact, the history of the Thais in Siam (modern Thailand) may be briefly described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively. It is recorded in annals—which have to be used with caution—and in a number of inscriptions of various rulers. The early history of Sukhothai and its kings is not disputed. The names of the kingdom as well as its supposed founder appear to be Indian. The land of Sukhothai, corresponding to Sanskrit Sukhodaya, was supposed to bestow happiness, while the Ruler considered to be its founder or the first king was Rama Khomheng—also called Ramaraja. An important inscription from Sukhothai, now in the Bangkok Museum, probably composed about 1300 A.D. gives an account of his kingdom which extended to the banks of the Mekong and beyond it to Chaya, perhaps identical with Luang Prabang, on the south to the sea as far as Sri Dharmaraja or Ligor, and on the west to Hamsavati or Pegu. The king is also recorded to have invented a script which finally developed into the modern Siamese or Thai script. The vocabulary of the language used was a mixture of Thai, Khmer and some borrowed from Malayese, and ecclesiastical and learned terms of Pali and Sanskrit. The Court and the people of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists, as might be evident from the statues of the Buddha set up in the city, and scenes carved in relief in large monasteries. The form of Buddhism seems to have differed little from the Hinayana form, now prevalent in Thailand. It is likely that the Thai when they entered this part of Indo-China brought with them some form of Buddhism. Hinduism—no doubt—dominated this region when this was part of Khmer empire whose rulers were votaries of Saivism, and they were also instrumental in providing Mahayanist Sanskrit Buddhism in the earlier period.

Southern Thailand from early times was to some extent affected by another wave of Buddhism through Malaysia. An

inscription from Ligor, formerly known as Sri Dharmaraja, refers to Hindu (probably Buddhist) settlements as early as the fourth century A.D. It was from Ligor that a learned monk was brought to Thailand, as is recorded in the Sukhothai record. Burma also provided the source for Buddhist activities and later on Thailand recognised the authority of Sinhalese Church. A Khmer inscription of Sri Suryavamsa Rama composed in 1361, records the academic achievements of this monarch who had studied the Tripitaka, the Vedas, the Sastragama and Dharmanyaya and set up images of Mahesvara, Vishnu, as well as of the Buddha. In that year he sent a messenger to Ceylon to invite a head of the Buddhist order learned to the Pitakas. The arrival of Sangharaja was a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Thailand. Two other inscriptions relate to a sapling of the Bodhi tree and also certain relics being installed with great solemnity. This great king Suryavamsa equally maintained contacts with India, Kambuja and China. He was also a keen student of India literature.

In 1350, a descendant of an ancient time of Thai princes, founded Ayuthia as a rival to Sukhothai. This site was earlier known as Dvaravati and also noticed by I-tsing (c. 680 A.D.). Inscriptional evidence suggests that Sukhothai continued to be a royal residence for some time, but in the fifteenth century Ayuthia gradually became predominant. Buddhism continued to be the dominating religious force, but an interesting inscription engraved on an image of Siva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts the identity of Buddhism and Saivism. The identity of the two Indian religions, particularly in the context of the Buddha being accepted as a god in the Hindu trinity, was widely prevalent and accepted in ancient South-eastern countries, particularly Kambuja and Champa.

The second capital Ayuthia continued to be the metropolis until 1767 when it was laid in ruins by the Burmese who defaced its temples and destroyed the city. A leader of Chinese origin named Phaya Taksin rallied Thai forces and cleared the Burmese out of the country and made Bangkok the seat of the Government. A new dynasty of rulers was founded in 1782 by Chao Phaya Chakkri which has continued till the abolition of monarchy in Thailand.

Reference might as well be made to a work *Jinakalamalini* written by a Buddhist monk in 1516 which mentions the capture of the city of Lavo (Lopburi) by a chieftain from Nakon Sri-

tammarat in Malaysia. This was done when its ruler was contending against another enemy from Haripunjaya (Lampun) in the north of Siam. The latter is identified with Suryavarman I, who is first known from the Khmer inscriptions from Lopburi dated in the early 11th century A.D. Lopburi was then a part of the Khmer empire. The name of the ruler, who was defeated by the Khmer invader was Uchchitta-Chakkavati-Skt. Uchhitta Chakravarti—definitely an Indian name. The entire history of Thailand is one of mingling of different races and it is difficult to ascertain the extent of Indian influence in the local population. It is, however, closely perceptible in the realms of religion and art which are so closely interlinked together.

Earliest Finds and Indian Influence

The most ancient objects found in Thailand are from a village called Pong Tuk where excavations have revealed the base of a sanctuary, representing a temple just over 80 feet long and 47 feet broad. The finds in this area include a Graeco-Roman land of Pompeian style in the form of a bird's body which must have been possibly left by some unknown Greek or Roman trader. It is placed in the first century A.D. The next object of earliest time is a small bronze statue of the Buddha in the Amaravati style, supposed to be of the second century A.D. A similar statue was found at Korat in North-eastern Siam, and now in the National Museum, which also betrays Greek influence in the folds of the drapery. These images are considered to be of Indian make. Several small bronze images possibly of local make are in Gupta style with stiff drapery and conventional treatment of the body and might be dated not later than the sixth century A.D. It is proposed that the Pong-Tuk sanctuary similar to the one from the Anuradhapura was subject to a common influence from Amaravati. Several other objects from this site, and undeniably of Indian make, include pottery jars. Besides these, several bronze images of the Buddha of unknown provenance clearly suggest that they were the work of Indian artists who came to Thailand from India or those objects were brought by Indian colonists.

The Dvaravati Period

The Dvaravati period representing the Mon-Indian school is represented by the architectural and sculptural remains that have been brought to light from the ancient sites of Dvaravati, Sri-Vijaya and Lavo (Lopburi). Inscriptions connected with the history of these kingdoms have also been recorded and published. The city of Lopburi—128 kilometres north of Bangkok—was

formerly known as Lavo and is one of the oldest sites in central Thailand. Its most ancient standing monuments do not belong to the pre-Khmer period, that is before A.D. 1000, but in the temple of Maha-Tat, in the heart of the city and in the surrounding neighbourhood, standing images of the Buddha have been found which belong to an earlier period. One such statue bears an inscription analogous to that noticed on the most ancient records from Cambodia before the establishment of Angkor as the capital at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Another statue with a mutilated inscription and certain pillars have also been found. These images and sculptures from Lopburi and Prapaton with the spiral curls of the hair, the elliptical form of the face, the prominent bulging upper lids, the lightly outlived eye-brows, the modelling of the torso, with the sexless body under a fine diaphanous cloth, are very similar in the general appearance to the Indian statues of the Gupta period. Several statues of these types—included in the term pre-Khmer—have also been found elsewhere at Ayudhya and elsewhere in Central Siam, in the standing as well as in the seated European fashion. The late Gupta influence might be the outcome of indirect influence through Cambodia or Funan from the east, or through the Hinduised states of Malaysia. It is, however, proposed by Reginald le May that the Buddhist statuary of Dvaravati is very similar to the primitive sculpture found in Cambodia, of which some magnificent specimens have been discovered near Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia. The transformation of the Gupta spirit into a Funan body might have been the outcome of the efforts of local artists who were inspired by the Buddhist ideals and devotion to the Tathagata. According to the History of Liang, Funan itself received its Hinduised art and culture from the state of Pan-Pan which is considered to be situated in the region of Nakon Sritammarat and the Bay of Bandon, and there was a definite cultural link between Funan, Dvaravati and the Hindu states of Malaysia where the statutes of the Buddha of the Gupta prototype have been found.

The next school of Thailand is associated with Sri-Vijaya which was connnected with Palambong in Sumatra and had extensive boundaries. This state was supplanted in the eighth century A.D. by the powerful kingdom called Javaka under a Mahayanist dynasty of Sailendras with their capital at a place called Jaya in the Thai portion of the Malaysia on the Bay of Bandon. This place also inspired the Javanese sculptors. The sculptures associated with the Hindu-Javanese school produced Brahmanical images of Vishnu along with those of the Budhha

and Bodhisattva. The Lokesvara's image in grey-black stone is a fine piece of modelling and seen to be akin to Pala sculpture of the same period. The Brahmanical figures are considered to be fairly close to the Pallava style of Southern India. The Funan and Khmer period in the history of Siam (Thailand), resulting in the domination over Central Siam *viz* the valley of the Meenam with its chief centre at Lopburi, contributed to the production of Brahmanical and Buddhist images—including an image of Ardhanarisvara—Siva and Uma united in one form in sandstone, with the ears and head dress very near to their Indian prototypes. The temples of Pravihara, Panam-Rung and Muang-Tam are clearly Brahmanical in character. Many images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva have also been found. Besides using sandstone, the artists did not ignore bronze in the making of smaller images.

Indian Cultural Traditions

The coming of the Thai or the Siamese did not snap Indian cultural traditions, directly or indirectly imported into their country. On the other hand, we find great influence being exerted in the realms of religion and art through Burma and Ceylon. Meng Rai in the north and Ram Kambeng in the south were ardent Thai Buddhists. The former had visited Pagan in Burma and had set up several Buddhist temples. Ram Kambeng was the first Thai King who had uprooted Khmer's suzerainty over Thailand. Under them the schools of Sukhotai and Ayudhya were founded. Rocharaja (Indraditya) introduced the new style of Buddha image, while his son Ram Kambeng invited the famous priest Sangharaja, the famous Sinhalese Theravadin, at Nakhon Srikammrat to take up his residence at Sukhotai. The temples of Rajatani and Prachum Pon have remarkable images of the Buddha in bronze, of several periods chiefly Sukhotai, U-Tong and Ayudhya. A detailed account of the sculptures might be out of place here in this context.

In a general survey of India's relations with Thailand formerly known as Siam, one has first to take into account its geographical location which made its direct contact with India rather impossible except through an intermediary country. This was provided either through Burma or Malaya Peninsula or Funan which was the first to get Indian immigrants—which included traders, preachers and banished princes. They brought with them Indian cultural traditions which were safely planted there. Thailand too had its share. It no doubt had to bear the brunt of Funan–Khmer occupation which it threw off in the 13th century. Buddhism, and Buddhist and Brahmanical art thrived in Thailand

and we find traces of Gupta, Pala and Pallava art traditions in the sculptures of Thailand. The names of the kingdoms associated with cities like, Lavapuri, Sukhodaya, Dvaravati, Haripunyayapura and Ayudhya are all Indian and so also the names of rulers of Thai origin. The Siamese records are also in Brahmin script. All these point to a greater degree of Indian cultural contacts with Thailand which have lasted for much longer period than with any other South-East Asian country which finally went over to colonial rule and domination from the seventeenth century onwards. The living monuments and sculptures preserved in the National Museum at Bangkok and elsewhere bear eloquent testimony to the age-old contact between the two countries.

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LET US KNOW GANDHIJI

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PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

November, 1969
Kartika 1891 Saka

NOT FOR SALE

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, PATIALA HOUSE, NEW DELHI-1, AND PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, FARIDABAD

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WHO WAS GANDHIJI ? AN INTRODUCTION

His full name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Mohandas was his own name, Karamchand—his father's, and the surname, Gandhi, the family name.

When young he was known by various names : Manu, Moniya, Mohan and Mohandas. In South Africa, his co-workers and associates used to call him "Bhai" or brother. When he returned home to India, he was hailed as the "Mahatma", the Great Soul. Ever since, the world has honoured him as Mahatma Gandhi. But to the inmates, young and old, of his Ashram at Sabarmati, and, later, at Sevagram, he was just "Bapu" or Father, as his wife, Kasturba was "Ba" or Mother. And, as the circle of his love widened and his work covered the whole country, he became endeared to the people everywhere too, as simply, "Bapu."

He was born on October 2, 1869, a hundred years ago, in Porbandar city of Kathiawar or Saurashtra, as it is now known. His father and father's father before him had been *dewans* there. His boyhood was uneventful. He was little more than average in his studies. He got into bad company, formed an evil habit or two, and made mistakes; but quickly saw, confessed and corrected them. Quite early in life, the value of truth and honesty, faith in God and regard for all religions were impressed on his mind. He married Kasturba when he was thirteen.

After matriculation in 1888, he went to England for studying law. Living a life of simplicity and hard study, he passed the London matric and the Bar examination in 1891.

Returning home, he struggled with a meagre legal practice in Bombay and in Rajkot. In 1893 he went to South

Africa on professional work. But when that was over, he did not return to settle down in India. For, he saw how he and his fellow Indians in South Africa were looked down upon by the white settlers. They were called "coolies" and were subjected to humiliation in a number of ways. He led the Indians to resist and disobey them through *satyagraha*. Excepting for two brief visits to India in 1896 and 1901-2, and two trips to Britain in 1906 and 1909, he lived for nearly 21 years in South Africa, guiding the Indians in their struggle against injustice. In the end he succeeded in getting some relief for his countrymen.

In 1915, he returned to India, with his family, and settled down at Kochrab and later, at Sabarmati. In the years that followed, he addressed himself to the problems of his countrymen.

His concern for the poor and the oppressed led him to take up the cause of justice to them everywhere. He supported both the poor farmers in Champaran district of Bihar and in Kheda district of Gujarat as well as the down-trodden mill workers of Ahmedabad who were denied a fair wage. In Champaran district the peasants were being forced by European planters to grow indigo, without being paid wages; in Kheda district, during a year of famine and drought, the poor farmers were subjected to an unjust levy of land revenue. The method which Gandhiji adopted in every case of wrong and injustice was *satyagraha,* involving self-suffering and, thereby, bringing about a change of heart in the opponents. And it succeeded.

Bapu used the same means of non-violent civil disobedience or *satyagraha* for securing the freedom of his country. Only, it took different forms at different times : Non-co-operation with the British Government and its institutions, during 1920-21; Salt *satyagraha* or civil disobedience of Salt

laws, in 1930-32; individual anti-war *satyagraha,* in 1940-41, and the "Quit India" Struggle which, but for the arrest of Bapu on August 9, 1942, would have been a final, country-wide, "Do or Die", non-violent movement for the withdrawal of British rule from the country.

When Bapu was not in jail, or not actively leading the *satyagraha* movements, he was constantly working on his constructive programme. This included many important activities and reforms such as *Swadeshi,* the abolition of untouchability and the uplift of *Harijans;* the promotion of communal harmony, prohibition, basic education, the revival of rural industries and *gram swaraj.* The sum total of all this programme was *poorna swaraj,* the India of his dreams. And in all these freedom movements and constructive activities Bapu was able to win the active co-operation not only of many leaders in the country but also of hundreds of thousands of common people. Many of them were inspired by Bapu and rose to great heights of heroism and sacrifice. Thousands faced lathi charges and firing, losing limb and often life, entered jail again and again, suffering all manner of hardships and indignities. The history of the world has seen many struggles for freedom, but certainly none like this where a subject people offered *satyagraha* and suffered in their own persons rather than inflict suffering on or offer violence against those who enslaved them. This unique movement was free of fear, hatred or violence; it was the challenge of the human spirit against physical might and force.

It is true that Bapu wanted freedom for his own people. But he wanted that freedom equally for all other enslaved or oppressed people. For he stood for human freedom, equality and brotherhood everywhere. He wanted to live in "One World" or none.

It was Bapu's deep and unshakeable faith that man is governed by the law of love and not the law of the brute or the jungle, and that the law of love would always in the end win over the law of hatred. It was not a new truth to him; it was a truth as "old as the hills", as he used to say. It was there in every religion, and every prophet in the history of the world had preached that truth. And the Buddha and Jesus Christ had given a supreme example of that truth in their own lives.

But the world had not heeded that truth. It had indeed ignored it at its great peril. On the contrary it had learnt to put its trust in military might, the power to subdue or destroy by force of arms and armaments.

Bapu saw clearly that that way would lead mankind to certain destruction. The two World Wars had proved the terrible cost and the uselessness of war. And the use of nuclear bombs was a danger to the very existence of the human species. Mankind had to give up force in all its forms.

Bapu was a man of God. He saw that service of the people, the children of God, constituted the highest worship of Him. And the people meant to him, not only his own fellowmen in India, but humanity as a whole. Indeed, he claimed to belong to them and to serve them all. And to this end, he strove all his life. Indeed, he laid down his life so that men may learn to live in love and as brothers. That was his message to mankind.

To the people of India, Bapu would always be in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru "the Father of the Nation which has been shaped and trained by him for half a century.... the architect of our freedom who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us." And so, when the Father of

the Nation passed away, on January 30, 1948, a martyr to his faith, Jahawarlal Nehru said truly : "The light has gone out of our lives. . . ."

Men like Bapu are born once in several ages and the world mourned Bapu's death as it had mourned few others in history. A leading statesman said in the United Nations : "From a distance, he appeared to us as already not of this world, and as a great symbol."

The great scientist, Albert Einstein, had observed when Bapu was still with us : "Generations to come ..... will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

What of today's younger generation? They never saw him in real life. How then does Bapu appear to them? What does he mean to them? Again, Jawaharlal Nehru answered these questions aptly : "To the younger generation who did not come in contact with him, he is a tradition, and numerous stories are woven round his name and activities."

It is through these stories that the young can today come to know Bapu perhaps even better than they can through the many biographies that have been written of him.

This little book has been built out of authentic incidents and ancedotes of his life, many as told by himself, and some as recalled by others who knew him well. The material has been drawn from many original sources. And the language adopted is as simple, I hope, as the young can understand. And, if, after reading and re-reading these stories, they begin to know Bapu and the message of his life, a little more clearly, a little more meaningfully than before, my labours in preparing this book would have been more than rewarded.

1. DEVOTION TO PARENTS

Gandhiji was greatly devoted to his parents. In later life, he said : "Every moment of life I am enjoying the fruit of having served my parents as God."

Friends sometimes spoke to Gandhiji about his parents. They often felt, when he started talking of his father and mother, that they were on holy ground.

Rev. Doke, the first European to write the story of Gandhiji's early life, wrote of his great love for his mother. Putlibai must have been a beautiful and noble character. When Gandhiji spoke of her, his voice would soften and a light shone in his eyes. Doke could see that.

A boyhood incident influenced much Gandhiji's feelings towards his parents. He once read *Shravana Pitribhakti*, a play of Shravana's great dutifulness to his parents. Gandhiji was greatly affected by reading it.

A travelling showman showed young Mohandas a picture of Shravana carrying his aged father and mother to holy places, by means of slings fitted to his shoulders.

Both the picture and the book left a firm impression on Gandhiji's mind. He said to himself : "Here is an example for you to copy."

Shravana was killed by an arrow which King Dasharath shot by mistake. His old parents lost their only support. Their agonizing lament, made into song, remained fresh in Gandhiji's memory. As a boy he used to play the sad tune on his mouth organ.

Many years afterwards, Gandhiji's explained : "I owe all I am to my parents. I felt towards them as Shravana felt towards his own parents."

What did Gandhiji's learn from his parents ? What did he think of them ?

Kaba Gandhi was a firm and upright man. Gandhiji did not talk much to him. He feared and respected his father. Yet he had complete faith in him and his utter sincerity.

Bad company had led Mohandas to take meat in secret. He sometimes joined his brother, who had formed the habit. But soon he realized that deceiving and lying to one's parents was worse than eating meat in secret. He therefore gave it up.

Mohandas used to constantly attend on his father during his last years, when he was ill. He would regularly massage his legs.

From his father, Bapu learnt methodical work; close attention to smallest details of a matter; also the need for doing even little things as well as one could. From his father's personal example, he realised the need to oppose injustice, even at the risk of his life.

But if Mohandas feared and respected his father, he loved and worshipped his mother.

The outstanding impression Putlibai left on her son's mind was one of saintliness. She was very religious. Prayers, daily visits to the temples, observance of vows and fasts were common practices in her life. Gandhiji's whole life shows how deeply these things had influenced him and, indeed, become a part of it.

His great love for his mother did not mean that Mohandas obeyed her blindly in everything. Sometimes she made mistakes. To these love could not be blind. He would not give up a principle, even at a young age, at the bidding of a doting mother. Once he had complained to her of being

beaten or ill-treated by his brother. Putlibai was angry and asked him why he did not hit back. Young Mohan was puzzled. "How can you teach me to hit people? Why should I hit anybody?" he protested, "should you not ask the one who hit not to do so, instead of asking the one who is hit to do the same?"

Putlibai wondered from where her son had got his strangely wise arguments.

When Mohandas had decided to go to England for legal studies, Putlibai was much disturbed. She had learnt that young people got lost there and took to meat and liquor.

"How can I trust you in a distant land?" she had asked, "I am dazed and do not know what to do. I will ask Becharji Swami."

Swamiji knew how to calm the mother's fears. He got Mohandas to take a vow—to keep away from meat, wine and women. These vows more than once kept Mohandas from falling a victim to temptations.

In later years, Gandhiji wrote : "It was not owing to my own strength, but owing to my unlettered mother. She bound her son by the thread of a vow and he was saved."

Putlibai died before Mohandas returned to India, after completing his legal studies. The news of her death had not been revealed to him when he was away in England for fear that he might break down. He learnt it on landing. His grief was great.

Shortly after, Mohandas went to Nasik and performed the purificatory ceremony which his caste required because he had gone overseas. He did this in fulfilment of his dear mother's dying wish.

Mohandas always used to address his mother as "thou", ...never as "you"..... He had feared that she

might think her child was no longer close to her, and feel hurt !

Apart from imbibing her deeply religious nature, Gandhiji learnt several things from Putlibai. One was not to make differences between one's children and those of others. This impartiality and equal regard for all became later a feature of community life in Gandhiji's Ashrams. Putlibai's goodness and self-denial put Gandhiji in mind of the vastly greater love and mercy of God.

Gandhiji once mentioned that he owed the ceaseless growth of his moral and spiritual qualities to his devotion to parents. But the same devotion also laid the foundation of his intellectual growth.

2. ADHERENCE TO TRUTH

Truthfulness seemed to be inherent in Gandhiji. But the desire to be truthful at all costs had its origin, mainly, in a boyhood experience. This had left a deep and life-long impress on his mind.

A team of strolling players had visited his home-town. They had put up the play of King Harishchandra of Ayodhya. Young Mohandas had gone to witness it.

In his adherence to Truth, Harishchandra goes through intense suffering. He has to part with his kingdom; his wife and son are sold as slaves. The boy dies of a snake bite. The climax is reached when Harishchandra, who has in the end become an executioner, is required by law to put his crying wife to death. Harishchandra does not flinch in the performance of his duty. But just as he prepares for it, Sage Vishwamitra, who has put him to all this ordeal in order to test his truthfulness, intervenes. Harishchandra's claim to the title, "The Truthful," is recognised. All that he has lost is restored to him.

The fearlessness and determination of Harishchandra in putting up with all suffering in the course of following Truth profoundly touched young Mohandas's heart. It haunted him for long. He literally believed the story. Whenever he recalled Harishchandra's trial and tribulations he would weep. Times without number he acted and re-enacted Harishchandra's role in his own mind.

The question again and again presented itself to him: "Why should not all be truthful like Harishchandra?" To follow truth and to face all the hardships even as Harishchandra had done was the one ideal that inspired Mohandas.

It did not matter to him that Harishchandra might not have been a historical figure. The ideal was enough to challenge him to follow Truth.

In his own life, Gandhiji fearlessly bore ample witness to Truth. He declared : "I have no God to serve but Truth. God is Truth. I am devoted to none but Truth and I owe no discipline to anybody but Truth."

For his ceaseless pursuit of Truth, Gandhiji had to pay a heavy price : deep mental anguish, political persecution, physical hardship and the denial of personal liberty, time and again. But he persisted in his adherence to Truth in the face of tremendous odds. For he believed that, in the end, Truth would assert itself.

No wonder, Gandhiji's example in steadfast adherence to Truth has led the country to adopt as its motto :

Satyameva Jayate—Truth Will Ever Triumph.

3. FIRST LESSON IN AHIMSA

This happened when Mohandas was about 15 years of age. The Gandhis were staunch Vaishnavites. Meat-eating was forbidden to them. An elder brother had run into debt for eating meat in secret. It was a small debt and had to be repaid. The brothers held counsel together. Mohan's brother had a gold armlet. It was decided to chip off a piece of it, sell it and settle the debt quietly. This was done. Their parents did not know it. Mohandas sensed he had done wrong. He resolved never to steal again.

That night the parents noticed that the crown of the armlet was missing. They asked the boys, but both denied knowledge of it. Such was the parent's implicit trust in their children that they believed them and let the matter drop.

But as Mohan worked at his lessons that night, his mind was ill at ease. Conflicting thoughts troubled him. He could not bear it any longer and opened his heart to his mother. She was deeply attached to him, and felt much concerned at her son's lapse. She advised him to go and make a clean breast of it to his father.

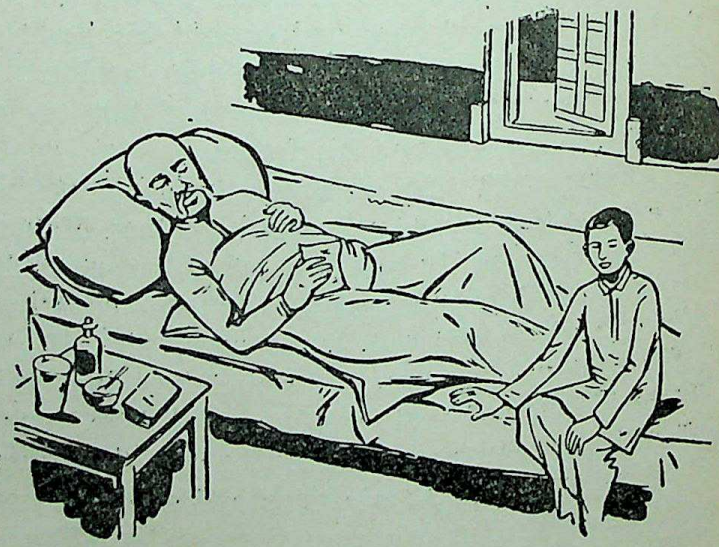
Mohandas agreed. But somehow he could not muster enough courage to face and speak to his father. He was not afraid of being beaten. In fact, his father had never beaten any of them. But Mohandas was fearful of the pain that the discovery of his misdeed would cause him. His father had full confidence in them. It would hurt him to learn that they had betrayed it. His father would be unhappy. Mohandas felt miserable at the thought. But there was no escape from it. The sense of shame and guilt was hanging heavy on his mind. The only way to shake it off was to

admit his error. Only confession, coupled with a sincere resolve not to repeat the sin, could help to sweep his mind clean like a new broom.

So picking up courage Mohandas wrote out his confession on a piece of paper. In it he not only admitted his guilt but also asked for proper punishment for it. In deep pain, he asked : "So father, in your eyes your son is now no better than a common thief ?" Lastly, he pledged his word never to repeat the wrong.

When Mohandas handed his note of confession, Kaba Gandhi was ill in bed, a plain wooden plank. He was suffering from fistula and was in much pain. But his physical pain was nothing compared to the anguish which his son's admission of sin caused him.

Having given the note to his father, Mohandas sat down at the foot of the bed. He trembled as he waited. But he was braced for what he feared was coming.



Kaba Gandhi was a man true and straight as steel. His son's straying from the right path did shock him beyond words. But there was no storm of anger, no rain of abuse, no harsh chiding even. The old man's brow was knit in sorrow; his eyes filled with tears. Mohandas was to describe it many years later : "Pearl-drops trickled down his cheeks, wetting the paper. For a moment, he closed his eyes in thought and then tore up the note. He had sat up to read it. He again lay down. I also cried. I could see my father's agony. These pearl-drops of love cleansed my heart." His speaking the truth had melted his father's wrath. From that day truth-telling became a passion with Mohandas. He learnt of the purifying power of sincere penitence. He was later to see in it the nature of true *Ahimsa*. When such *Ahimsa* becomes all embracing, it changes everything it touches. There is no limit to its power.

To Mohandas it was his first object lesson in *Ahimsa*.

4. THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING DISHONEST

It was inspection day at Mohandas's school at Rajkot. Mr. Giles, the school inspector, was paying a visit to the school to see it at work. The children had been asked to come well-groomed and with their best clothes on. The teachers and the older boys had worked till late on the previous evening, giving the school a fresh look. Blackboards, desks, bookshelves, and cupboards had been swept and dusted till they looked spick and span.

The headmaster of the High School had impressed on the teachers that, when Mr. Giles came, he should see the best boys on the front benches. It was very necessary that Mr. Giles should take with him a high opinion of both the teachers and students. The size of next year's grant depended on the inspector's report to the Education Department.

When Mr. Giles arrived, the headmaster received him with due ceremony and took him round the classes, one by one. In due course, the inspector visited Mohandas's class. Mr. Giles set the boys a spelling test. He gave them five words in dictation. One of the words was "kettle".

Mohandas was confused. Was it "cattle" or "kettle"? The teacher saw his flurried face and found that he had misspelt the word. He prodded Mohandas with his foot. He wanted him to copy the correct spelling from his neighbour's slate.

But somehow it never occurred to Mohandas that his teacher could want him to cheat. Was he not there to supervise against any such dishonesty? So Mohandas stuck to his spelling and the mistake remained uncorrected.

Every other boy had spelt all the words correctly. Only Mohandas had failed to do so—only because of his stupidity

and refusal to copy ! After the inspector left, the teacher angrily tried to bring home to Mohandas his mistake and even more his foolishness. Mohandas was still unconvinced that his teacher had really wanted him to copy ! Copying was the one thing he could never learn.

Dishonesty was foreign to his nature.

In later life, too, Gandhiji used to say, what is gained through falsehood, through dishonest and crooked means, is but short-lived. It would prove harmful in the end.

Right from his student days Mohandas had realized the need for honesty in regard to money. He himself used to keep accounts. Accurate accounts had always to be kept, especially of public money.

Bapu has said : "There is no shorter way than the straightest way. Has not Euclid taught us that the straight line is the shortest distance between two points ?"

5. THE VANITY OF FASHION

Gandhiji's loin-cloth was famous and is now a matter of history. But once he had passed through his own phase of vanity.

When in England as a law student, the lure of "playing the gentleman" had cast a spell on Mohandas. He threw away his Bombay-made clothes and got himself rigged in those of the latest cut from the *Army and Navy Stores* in London. He spent as much as ten pounds on a single Bond Street suit. He learned to sport a double watch-chain of gold. He even acquired skill in putting on a necktie. He spent considerable time in parting his hair in the correct style of the day. He capped it all with a top hat. To do this he took a good hour or more daily before the mirror.

A gentleman is known not only by the cut of his clothes, but also by the manner of his speech, he believed. He must therefore have lessons in elocution. He started studying the book Bill's *Elocution* with especial care.

A taste for music is the hallmark of culture, young Mohandas thought. Why not learn some chamber music? That was the beginning of the violin lessons.

In the midst of all this process of growing to be a gentleman, a bell rang within him. Mohandas suddenly realized that he had gone to London for studying at the Bar, *not* for acquiring the make up of a dandy or the air of genteel folk. He had not come to that city only to spend a life-time. Time was running against him. What was the use of elocution? How would it make him a better lawyer? Would dancing make a gentleman of him? Violin he could learn at home in India. Here he was a student. Studies were his main job

and he had to qualify himself for the Bar at the Inns of Court—not at a fashion parlour.

The truth came home to Mohandas.

"If my character made a gentleman of me, so much the better. Otherwise I should forego the ambition."

Making up his mind to turn over a new leaf, Mohandas gave up dancing, elocution and music classes. He stopped living with an English family, where he had to keep up appearances. He rented rooms on his own account; and started being plain himself. He left off using the omnibus and the cab and saved on fares. Walking several miles a day helped him to save money as well as to improve health. He gave up dining out and started cooking his breakfast at home. His food bill dropped.

The spell of vanity and fashion was over. Plain living and simplicity took their place. "Simplicity is not so simple a thing as people imagine," he had observed in later life, when he went about in a loin-cloth.

But the foundation of his simple way of life had been laid in the struggle of his student days.

6. FIRST STEP IN SELF-DENIAL

In 1901, Gandhiji decided to leave South Africa. For eight years he had lived and worked there for his countrymen. Now, he wanted to return home to India. His friends were pressing him to do so. He himself felt that he might be of greater service to the motherland.

Gandhiji's co-workers were reluctant to let him go back to India. They finally agreed, on condition that he would return to South Africa if they wanted him back at any time. He agreed.

The Natal Indians bade him an affectionate farewell. They held receptions and meetings galore, praised his services, and expressed their gratefulness. And they showered gifts on him.

Gandhiji came home in the evenings, loaded with addresses and garlands, and presents—consisting of gold studs, bangles, gold watches, brooches, chains and a necklace and even expensive jewels made of diamond.

Kasturba turned the presents over and over again. Her simple heart was overjoyed at the sight of so much gold—given with so much affection too. She beamed with pleasure.

But Gandhiji was silent, thoughtful and glum. There was a struggle on in his mind. Had he a right to accept the gifts? He had claimed to serve the community—without reward. All the gifts—excepting a few from his legal clients—were purely for his public services. Even his clients had helped him in public work. Would it be correct to receive expensive presents from them?

One of the gifts was a lovely gold necklace. It was

worth at least 50 guineas. It was intended for Kasturba. True, but it was given to her because of *his* public work. So it could not be separated from the rest.

That night Gandhiji could not sleep a wink. He tossed restlessly in bed—for a long time. Then he got up, and started pacing up and down the room, his mind much disturbed. But there appeared to be no way out of his dilemma. He could not retain the presents. At the same time it was hard to give up so many beautiful and costly things.

Supposing he kept them. Would it be right? Would it be the correct example to his children? And then, what about Kasturba? They were all being groomed for public service—without reward. He had taught them and they were beginning to learn that service was its own reward. If so, how could they keep and enjoy valuables given to him as a reward?

They had been simplifying their daily life, step by step. They had no costly ornaments of their own in the house. It was then hardly proper for them to wear or use gold

watches and diamond rings given by others. Moreover, he had been publicly asking people to shed their love for gold. Would it be proper and would it not look ridiculous if they retained that lure for gold themselves ?

Gandhiji realized that they could not do so, that he could not let them do so—if he was to be true to himself. The right thing to do, he decided, would be to hand over all the presents to a public trust. Money could be raised as loans on it for public work when need arose. Once Gandhiji resolved to do this, his mind was at peace. And he slept well.

A resolution is easy to make; not so easy to carry out. Gandhiji realized this next morning. He opened the topic with his sons. He thought, and in fact found, it easy to persuade them to adopt his course of action. He explained it to them and asked for their support when he proposed it to their mother.

"We do not need these costly presents", Harilal and Manilal said. "Let us give them back to the community. In case we ever want them,we can easily buy them." Having agreed to the proposals, they added, "We will persuade Mother. She herself would not want to wear them. She perhaps likes to keep them for our sake. But if we tell her, 'Mother dear, we do not need them, nor will our wives,' she is sure to agree to part with them."

It appeared so simple. Easier said than done. When Kasturba heard their plea, she turned to Gandhiji in anger and said sarcastically : "You may not need the jewels. Your children, too, whom you have converted. They would dance to your tune. I can see that it is you who do not want them to keep the ornaments. But, pray tell me, what about my daughters-in-law ?"

"Your daughters-in-law ?" Gandhiji said in some bewilderment. He had evidently not thought of them.

"Yes," continued Kasturba with determination. "Our daughters-in-law are sure to need them. And may I ask one thing ? Is not gold a help during distress ? Who knows what difficulties we may not have tomorrow? Moreover, these are gifts of love. Can you be so heartless as to return them ? And it would be quite bad manners to do so. I shall keep them."

She spoke as one who had made up her mind, and more, closed it to all further argument !

Gandhiji was not convinced and, shook his head. When her arguments failed, Kasturba's tears flowed fast. The children were firm in their resolve. And Gandhiji was determined not to yield either to her arguments or to her tears. Yet he tried to coax her. He said : "The children are too young to be married. When they are of age, they will take care of things." "And, as for ourselves," he added, "We will not

accept for our sons brides who are greedy for gold! And even if you need to deck them with ornaments, I am of course there. You will ask me then."

Kasturba was furious. "Ask you?" she exclaimed scornfully. "Don't I know you by this time? You who took away all my ornaments! You would not let me live in peace wearing them! You who are trying to make sadhus of your sons even now! Fancy now your offering to get ornaments for your daughters-in-law! No, I shall not return the ornaments. And pray, what right have you to take away the necklace they presented to me?"

Gandhiji, wincing under this torrent of home-thrusts, managed to stammer back: "B-but the necklace-er-was given to you—er—in reward of my services, not yours?"

Kasturba was not so easily cowed down.

"Yes, indeed, I agree. But am I not your wife? Service rendered by you is as good as my own. And have I not toiled and moiled for you day and night? Is that no service? And should it go unrewarded? And as if all that I do for you is not enough, you crowd the house with your friends and co-workers, and you force me to serve them too. Many a time I shed bitter tears over it. But mighty little did you care and I had to slave for them all the same!"

Kasturba's words were sharp like darts and some of them did go home. Poor Gandhiji was hurt. But that did not shake off his resolve.

And by dint of effort, he wrung Kasturba's consent—unwilling though it was. She knew by experience that once Gandhiji made up his mind, he was like a rock.

The jewels were all listed and deposited in a bank as a public trust. Loans could be raised on it in times of public need at the wish of Gandhiji or that of the trustees.

The fund was of great help in later years, the years of

passive resistance. Gandhiji never regretted the step. Ba to saw in due course the wisdom of it. It saved them fro many temptations.

Many years later, when Gandhiji had set up the Satya graha Ashram at Sabarmati, he declared to the inmates: "I am convinced that we should not allow jewels in the Ashram As long as there is terrible starvation in our land it is sin fo us to keep or put on even a ring studded with gems."

While of silver or gold he wanted none for himself o for those who had cast their lot with him, he often begge for both in later years. But it was only for the uplift of the lowly and the lost.

7. MANILAL'S RECOVERY

Once Manilal, Gandhiji's eldest son, was very ill when ten years old and was staying in Bombay. The doctor prescribed him eggs and chicken broth. Medicine would do no good. Bapu said : "We are vegetarians. Manilal can't take eggs and broth. I can't give them. Will you not prescribe something else in their place ?"

The doctor shook his head. "Your son's life is in danger," he said, "Do not be hard on your son."

Gandhiji pleaded with him. "I shall try my hydropathy or water treatment on him. But I would like you to help me to examine his pulse, chest, lungs, etc. I shall be grateful to you."

The doctor agreed to this.

Gandhiji told Manilal what had passed between the doctor and him. Manilal said : "Do try your hydropathic treatment, Father. I will not take eggs or chicken broth."

Gandhiji was glad to hear this, all the more because he knew Manilal would have readily taken eggs and broth if he had advised him to do so.

Manilal had high fever—104°. At night he was delirious. Gandhiji got anxious. If something went wrong, what would people say about him ? Could he not afford other doctors, or Ayurvedic pandits ? What right had he to try his fad on his son, or to risk his life ? Gandhiji was sorely disturbed. But he said to himself: "God will surely be pleased to see me giving my son the same treatment that I would have given myself. The thread of Manilal's life is in God's hands. Why not, trust in Him and in His name go on with the water treatment ? I think it is right."

It was night. He was lying by Manilal's side, in the same bed. He decided to give him a wet sheet pack. He got up, wetted a sheet, wrung the water out of it and wrapped it about Manilal, keeping only his head out, then covered it with two blankets. He applied a wet towel to the head. The body was burning to the touch, like hot iron, and was quite dry and parched. There was no perspiration at all. Gandhiji was much tired. He left Manilal in Kasturba's charge and went out for a walk on the Chowpatty beach to refresh himself.

It was about 10 o'clock in the night. The beach was deserted. Plunged in deep thought, Gandhiji prayed to God : "My honour is in your keeping, O Lord, in this hour of trial," he repeated to himself. Ramanama was on his lips all the time. After a short time, his heart beating fast with worry and anxiety, Gandhiji returned home.

No sooner had he entered the room, than Manilal said: "Have you returned, Bapu ?"

"Yes, dear".

"Then do please pull me out. I am burning all over."

"Are you perspiring, my son?"

"I am simply wet to the skin. Do please take me out."

Gandhiji touched Manilal's forehead. It was covered with beads of sweat. The temperature was going down. Gandhiji gave thanks to God.

"Manilal, my child," he said, "your fever is sure to go down now. A little more sweat and I shall take you out."

"Pray Bapu," Manilal pleaded. "Do free me from this furnace. Wrap me up some other time if you like. But just now, take me out."

Gandhiji somehow managed to keep him under the pack for a few more minutes by diverting his mind, cracking jokes and even telling him a story. By this time, the perspiration

streamed down his forehead. It was only then that Gandhiji undid the pack and mopped up the wet patches on his body. That done, he nestled close to his son. Soon, both of them fell asleep. They slept soundly.

Next morning, Manilal had much less fever. He continued like this for forty days living on diluted milk and fruit juices, and was then finally restored to health.

What was it that had helped Manilal's recovery? God's grace? Gandhiji's skill in hydropathy? His nursing or the dieting? For his part, Gandhiji believed that it was simply his faith in God. It was an endless faith, never deserting him in greatest distress or difficulty.

8. SERVING THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN

It was about the year 1904. The place was the old "Coolie" location in Johannesburg, South Africa. Indians were forced to live there. The location was very dirty and unhealthy. The Municipality did little or nothing to clean it up. Heavy rain for over a fortnight had made conditions worse.

Gandhiji feared that there might be an outbreak of black plague. His fears came true.

One afternoon he received a note from Madanjit, the publisher of Gandhiji's weekly paper, *Indian Opinion*. The note brought alarming news. It said : "There has been a sudden attack of the black plague. You must come immediately and take prompt steps."

Many Indians working in the mines were being brought out. Some of them were dead. Some others were dying. They all had the dread plague.

Gandhiji sent urgent word to the Municipal Medical Officer of Health. Also to the Town Clerk. But he did not wait for them to come. With an inspector, he rushed to the scene.

There was no hospital nearby. Nor was there time to take them to the hospital. With the help of Madanjit and some volunteers, Gandhiji broke open the lock of a vacant house. They got hold of some blankets and beds.

The community held a meeting and collected money. Shopkeepers gave some stores. A temporary hospital was set up. They carried the patients there. Dr. Godfrey, an Indian doctor, joined Gandhiji.

All through the night, Gandhiji, the doctor and the volun-

teers worked without rest or respite. They attended to the patients, fed and nursed them.

Next morning when the Municipal doctor visited the place, he found some 17 patients either dead or dying. With the permission of the doctor, Gandhiji had put three others under his "earth" treatment, applying wet bandages to their heads and chests. Two of them were saved. Those still alive were shifted to a plague camp, under the charge of Bapu and Dr. Godfrey.

By his quiet courage, Gandhiji had set an example to the others. They had served the plague-stricken in spite of great peril to themselves. Compassion had conquered fear of death. To Gandhiji it was no new experience. At home in Rajkot, many years before, he had done similar relief work during a plague epidemic.

9. JUSTICE TO INDENTURED LABOUR

One day Gandhiji was sitting in his law office at Johannesburg. He had started practice only three months earlier. Suddenly, the door opened and in came a man. His clothes were in tatters. His crumpled turban was on his head. He was bleeding from the mouth. Two of his front teeth were broken and hanging loose. He stood there—uncertain, trembling and weeping—a picture of misery.

The man removed his dirty head cloth and holding it in his hands, stood there, a picture of abject humility. Gandhiji did not know at first why he had removed his headgear. His Tamil clerk whispered to him : "It is a mark of respect, Sir. They must be bareheaded in the presence of their superiors."

Gandhiji did not like this sense of inferiority. He made a sign to the man to put on his turban. He did so with wonderment, rather unwillingly. He seemed to have been badly beaten up by his master. For he was an indentured labourer—another name for a virtual slave.

Gandhiji's clerk was a Tamilian. He saw the plight of the man and stepped forward to meet him. He questioned the poor fellow. His name was Balasundaram. He was under an indenture or contract of service to a well-known European resident of Durban. The master had got angry, lost his head and beaten Balasundaram black and blue, knocking out two of his teeth.

The first thing that Gandhiji did was to send him to a doctor—a white doctor. There were no Indian or coloured doctors in Johannesburg at that time. Gandhiji asked the doctor to give Balasundaram a certificate about the nature of his injuries. The doctor sent the certificate : the injuries

appeared to have been caused through severe thrashing. Gandhiji then went with Balasundaram to a magistrate and gave a written statement to him. The magistrate read it, and was very angry at the white man's brutal behaviour.

"The man who beat him up like this must be brought to book," he said. He promptly issued a summons to him.

Gandhiji did not, in fact, want Balasundaram's master to be punished. He only wanted to have Balasundaram relieved from his service. The poor fellow was badly bruised in body, and completely broken in spirit. He would never like to return to his master. Gandhiji understood him. He knew the law on indentured labour. It provided that if an *ordinary* servant left his master's service without giving notice, he was liable to be sued in a civil court by his master. But, in the case of the *indentured* labourer the law was different. The law provided for a harsher penalty: the man could be sued in a criminal court and sent to jail. Under that law the indentured labourer was no better than a slave. He was the property of his master, who could do what he liked with him. It was an inhuman system.

Balasundaram could be given relief in one of two ways. Either the Protector of Indentured Labour could cancel his indenture or contract and transfer him to another master—or, he could persuade the employer to release him.

Gandhiji thought the first course better. He went to his master and said: "I do not want to proceed against you and get you punished. I think you understand how cruelly you have beaten Balasundaram. Still, if you transfer his indenture to someone else, I shall be satisfied and will drop the matter."

The master, already feeling sorry for his conduct, readily agreed. Gandhiji went back to the Protector of Indentured Labour and told him what had happened. The latter agreed on condition that Gandhiji found a new employer for Balasundaram.

Gandhiji's work was not over. He went in search of a new place for the poor fellow. Though he knew only a few

Europeans at the time, he succeeded in persuading one of them to take Balasundaram into his service.

Balasundaram's case brought joy and hope to many indentured labourers in Natal. They had now someone who championed their cause and would defend them against injustice. Gandhiji became their guardian.

Thereafter Gandhiji decided to become the poor indentured labourers' lawyer. In his eyes, to secure justice for the oppressed was the first duty of a lawyer.

Gandhiji worked hard in South Africa to bring relief to the indentured labourer and improve his service conditions. Once the term of indenture was over, Gandhiji wanted to win for him the status of a free citizen.

Back in India, he carried on a campaign to end the evil system of indenture. Many highminded individuals and some institutions supported him. Even Indian women joined the movement. Gandhiji said that if the system was not ended, there would be *satyagraha*. But, by July 1917, the Government of India had abolished the system.

10. THE HONEST COURSE

In South Africa Parsi Rustomji was Gandhiji's client and co-worker. Such was his confidence in Gandhiji that he sought and followed his advice even in private and domestic matters. Even when he was ill, he would seek Gandhiji's aid.

Once Parsi Rustomji got into difficulty. He was a large importer of goods from Bombay and Calcutta. Often he resorted to smuggling. He was on the best terms with the customs officials. They did not suspect him. Some of them perhaps helped him.

Once Parsi Rustomji ran to Gandhiji tears rolling down his cheeks. He was in trouble. "Bhai, I have deceived you. My guilt has been found out, today. I have smuggled and now I am doomed. I must go to jail and be ruined. You alone may be able to save me from this. I have kept back nothing from you except this thing about smuggling. But now, how much I repent it !"

Gandhiji calmed him and said : "To save or not to save you is in God's hands. As for me, you know my way, I can but try to save you by means of confession."

The good Parsi felt deeply hurt. "But is not my confession before you enough ?" he asked.

"You have wronged not me but the Government," Gandhiji replied, "How will your confession before me avail you ?"

Parsi Rustomji said : "Of course, I will do just as you advise, but will you not consult with my old counsel. He is a friend, too."

Inquiry showed that the smuggling was going on for a

long time. But so far the goods involved only a small sum. Gandhiji took Parsi Rustomji to his lawyer. He looked at the papers. He was gloomy, "You will be tried by a Natal Jury and are not likely to be acquitted. But I will not give up hope."

Gandhiji and Parsi Rustomji went back to his shop. Gandhiji opened his heart to Parsi Rustomji. "I don't think this case should be taken to court at all. It rests with the Customs Officer to prosecute you or to let you go, and he in turn will have to be guided by the Government lawyer. I am prepared to meet both. I propose that you should pay the penalty they fix, and odds are that they will be agree-

able. But if they are not, you must be prepared to go to jail. I am of opinion that the shame lies not so much in going to jail as in committing the offence. The deed of shame has already been done. You should regard jail as a penance. The real penance lies in resolving never to smuggle again."

Parsi Rustomji did not take all this advice in good spirit. It was a bitter pill to him. He was a brave man, but his courage failed him for the moment. His name and fame were at stake, and where would he be if the edifice he had built with such care and labour should go to pieces?

"Well, I have told you," he said at last, "that I am entirely in your hands. You may do just as you like."

Gandhiji met the Customs Officer, put all facts of the case fearlessly before him and pleaded with him. He also offered to place all his books of account before him. He assured him that Parsi Rustomji was feeling very sorry for all that he had done.

The Customs Officer said: "I like the old Parsi. But I am sorry he has made a fool of himself. You know where my duty lies. I must be guided by the Attorney-General. So I would advise you to use all your persuasion with him."

But Gandhiji got a promise from the Customs Officer that he will not drag Parsi Rustomji to court. He next wrote to and met the Attorney-General. He appreciated Bapu's frankness and, believed he had kept nothing from him. The case was compromised. Parsi Rustomji had to pay as fine double the amount involved in the smuggling. He paid it. More, he wrote down all the facts of the case and framed and hung up the paper in his office. It was to serve as a constant warning to his heirs and fellow-merchants.

11. THE PRACTICE OF LAW

Gandhiji had heard, when a boy, that the lawyer's profession was a liar's profession. But this did not affect him, for he had no desire to earn either money or position by lying.

When he became a lawyer and practised in South Africa, his principle never to lie was put to the test many times. Often he knew that the lawyers on the opposite side had tutored their witnesses, but he would not tutor his own to tell lies to win his case.

In his heart of hearts he always wished that he should win only if his client's case was right. He never fixed his fees on the basis of the results of the case.

He warned every new client at the outset that he should

not expect him to take up a false case or put up false witnesses.

On one occasion, Gandhiji was conducting a case before a magistrate in Johannesburg. He found that his client had deceived him. He saw him completely break down in the witness box. So without any argument, he asked the Magistrate to dismiss the case. He rebuked the client for bringing a false case to him. The opposing counsel was astonished; the magistrate was pleased.

Gandhiji's devotion to truth brought him fame. Only honest clients went to him. In spite of his being an Indian, white lawyers gave him their affection.

Gandhiji's object in practising in South Africa was the service of the community.

12. SELF-HELP

Gandhiji believed in self-help. When a student in England, he used to cook his own breakfast.

In South Africa, Gandhiji wanted to live a life of simplicity. He realised that in order to cut down expenses, he ought to do a number of things himself. First he decided to be his own dhoby. He bought a washing outfit and a book on washing. He studied the art and taught it to Kasturba. Once his collar was starched so much and ironed so little that it peeled off by bits much to the amusement of his lawyer friends. When they asked him why he washed his own clothes, he said, "The laundry bill is very heavy. The

charge for washing a collar is almost as much as its price; and even then you depend all the time on the washerman. I prefer by far to wash my clothes myself." His friends did not appreciate the beauty of self-help. But by dint of practice he became a good washerman.

Gandhiji similarly became his own barber. It was in this way. Once a white barber in Pretoria refused to cut his hair. Gandhiji felt very hurt, immediately purchased a pair of clippers and cut his own hair. He managed the hair in the front somehow, but spoiled that at the back. His friends in the court rocked with laughter at the miserable result of his self-barbering. He told them he had decided to be his own barber as the white barbers would not touch black customers.

The seed of self-help was sown in Gandhiji at a very early age. It took root, sprouted into a flower and bore rich fruit in later life.

13. DIGNITY OF LABOUR

Gandhiji made himself one with the lowliest of workers. This was not only in word, which was easy enough, but even more in deed.

"Mine is a life of joy in the midst of incessant work," he used to say.

He was always the servant, the server, in the forefront of servants. He was true to the Biblical saying: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

In South Africa, at Phoenix or at Tolstoy Farm, dinners and receptions would be given from time to time to important visitors. At such parties, Gandhiji was never in the front row or near the guest of honour.

He did manual work, helped in the kitchen and waited on the guests. He was at home with the least, the humblest and the lowliest among them.

When Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited South Africa, Gandhiji ironed his favourite scarf. Gokhale had doubted if he could do it; but when he saw how well Gandhiji had done the job, he was pleased and gave him a certificate as an expert dhoby.

Gokhale could not take starchy or fatty food. Gandhiji himself roasted or charred bread and potatoes in the kitchen for him so that much of the starch was removed.

Gandhiji was fairly good at shoe-making; when, in one of the South African jails, he had made a pair of sandals for General Smuts. In prison he had practised the profession of a barber, too, he once told a group of Indian barbers.

When Gandhiji was in India, in 1901, he attended the session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. He

went to one of the Congress secretaries, Ghoshal, and asked for some work. He said : "I can give you only clerical work. Will you do it ?"

"Certainly," replied Gandhiji, "I am here to do anything that is not beyond my capacity."

Ghoshal Babu gave him a heap of letters to sort out and look through. He was to separate the letters which needed consideration. Gandhiji was glad that he was entrusted with this work. He did it in no time.

Ghoshal Babu used to get his shirt buttoned by his bearer. "You see, now," he said to Gandhiji, "the Congress Secretary has no time even to button his shirt. He has always some work to do."

Gandhiji offered to do the bearer's duty and buttoned Ghoshal Babu's shirt.

In his own Ashram at Sabarmati, Gandhiji set an example in doing the meanest of jobs. Like other inmates he used to grind corn and draw water from the wells.

Even cleaning of latrines was not too low for him. When anyone did scavenging merely for money, it was no *yajna* or service, he used to say. But when one did it in a spirit of service, it had a value of its own.

"There is nothing demeaning or shameful about a profession," he said, "Have I not cleaned lavatories ? There is no disgrace in doing so. On the contrary, it amounts to great service." A mother becomes worthy of being remembered every morning, if she does no more than clean the child's filth. Why should we not regard a *bhangi* in the same way, Gandhiji used to ask.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has told how Gandhiji did not hesitate to do scavenging work when need arose. Once it was reported to Gandhiji that the *bhangi* at Sevagram had run away. "Let us go," Bapu had said, "Pick up broom

and bucket and clean the place." And he led a batch of volunteers including Khan Sahib and cleaned the latrines.

Bapu believed that no work that is done in God's name and is dedicated to His service is small.

There is humility and joy in all body labour. All such labour has a dignity of its own.

14. BHANUBAPA'S SHOES

At Sevagram, Bhanubapa, a poor old man, clad in rags, had joined Gandhiji's camp. He worked hard the whole day long. He did the meanest jobs such as cleaning rubbish and refuse. He had only one meal a day. In spite of his old age, he was healthy, his teeth were firm and strong. Only when he had done his day's work was he happy. Sunshine or rain, he went about his duties, which were like those of a sanitary inspector. Even during rains he wore no more than his torn clothes. It did not seem to affect him at all.

One day, he said he needed a pair of shoes. He did not need them while working during daytime. But when he had to go out during the night or in the rain, he could not go barefoot. He had therefore made for himself a rough pair of shoes, by stitching together waste pieces of soft cardboard. But the shoes did not last more than one day of heavy downpour.

He asked Bapu : "Bapu, can you spare me a pair of worn-out shoes ?"

"But why a worn-out pair ?" Bapu asked.

"Why do I need a new pair ? If I can live on leavings of food, I can as well wear old shoes." Bhanubapa replied, with his naive smile.

"But supposing I get a new pair made for you ?"

"Mercy on me ! I do not like these modern sandals or slippers. I want my old *Okhai* shoes with the outside stitch."

"Certainly, we can have them made in our tannery shop at Nalwadi."

"But how will they be able to make this strange sort of shoes ? Shall I go to Nalwadi and show them how to do it ? But how can I leave my work even for a day ?"

Bapu smiled.

"You need not leave your work nor need the shoemaker be called here. Give me that cardboard. I shall design the shoe and we shall ask our shoemaker to make them."

Saying this, to the utter amazement of Bhanubapa, Bapu set to work on the design. He re-called the old *Okhai* shoe design which he had not seen for over thirty years. In a few minutes, he produced a dummy shoe. The pair of shoes was prepared from Bapu's design.

It was a happy sight to watch Bhanubapa going about his daily work, in his tattered loin cloth and a new pair of *Okhai* shoes.

15. GOSPEL OF WORK

Bapu believed in working with one's own hands. There was nothing low or mean about it. Labour had a dignity all its own.

Once a visitor to the Ashram had asked him : "Bapu, are you not putting undue value on the gospel of work? Are you not making a fetish of it ?"

Bapu replied :

"Not at all. I have always meant what I have said. There can never be too much emphasis placed on work. I am simply repeating the gospel taught by the *Bhagavad Gita*. The Lord says : 'If I did not remain ever at work sleeplessly, I should set a wrong example to mankind.' That is why I appealed even to the professional men to spin on the charkha. That would set an example to the rest of our countrymen."

The visitor was thoughtful for a moment. Then he asked: "Would you do the same thing with Lord Buddha, for example, if you met him ?"

"Yes, without the slightest hesitation," Bapu replied.

"Then, what would you say about great saints like Tukaram and Dnyandev ?"

"Who am I to judge them ?"

The visitor was puzzled. "But you would judge Buddha ?"

"I never said so," Bapu replied. "I simply said, if I had the good fortune to be face to face with one like him, I should not hesitate to ask him why he did not teach the gospel of work instead of the gospel of contemplation or thought. I should do the same thing if I were to meet these saints."

16. "SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN TO COME UNTO ME..."

Bapu loved children. "Children are my life. Let them come to me," he used to say. With a smiling face he would play and frolick with them. And children had a special charm for him. In fact they enjoyed each other's company.

Sarojini Naidu once wrote of Bapu :

"This habit of mirth draws children to him naturally, inevitably. He delights in their company, as he delights... in birds, flowers, animals, the whole of nature."

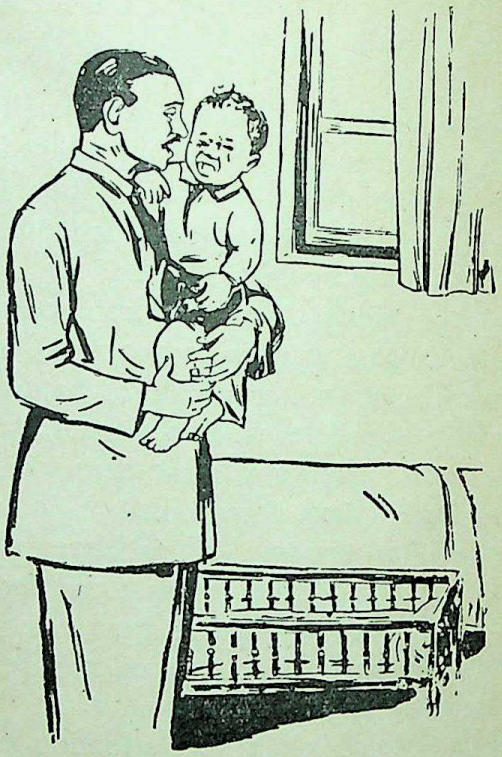
Many are the anecdotes and stories of Bapu's love for children. It had the quality of a mother's love in it.

From his earliest days Bapu liked to look after and fondle children. For example, in his Phoenix Settlement in South Africa, he would take in his arms the little babies of the inmates one by one and nurse them. At such moments, a smile would light up his face and make it beautiful, and a tender gleam would shine in his eyes.

The children would claim his attention by turns. He would show his love to all freely. Among the children, a pale and ailing Muslim boy, Kasim, claimed and obtained most love from him. All through the evening, the little one sat upon his knees and Bapu would tenderly stoop to ask him whether he was in pain.

Next time it was a small Zulu girl from the Mission who became the centre of Bapu's attention and concern. Deenabandhu Andrews has described how, in the silence of the evening, Bapu sang a religious song and a prayer to God to bless all mankind. "There in Africa, I had found Christ ....I could almost picture Christ moving about in the

Ashram, sitting with us at our evening meal and joining with us in the worship of the Father of all mankind."



Henry Polak, another associate and fellow-worker of Bapu in South Africa, has recalled another incident. It shows Bapu's motherliness in the case of little children. Bapu was the guest of a European couple, friends of Polak. They had a little baby which would cry all night. Bapu had just come out of prison. He had a very hard time there and was now much in need of rest. He saw that his host had spent a sleepless night. The next night, after his friends had gone to bed, Bapu quietly entered the room, took the child in his arms and dragging his cot into his own room, put him to sleep, attending to his needs throughout the night.

Bapu never liked to treat children differently because they were European, Indian or African. Once in Durban, he had seen a mayor's procession in which children had participated. He saw not a single African or coloured child. He took objection to this. Was it a punishment to the children, he asked, for the "sin" of being born of coloured parents ? Would the South Africans change Christ's words "Suffer little children to come unto me ?"

17. A CHILD AMONG CHILDREN

Bapu knew how to win over children. His formula was simple : be a child among children. There was nothing artificial or crude about this; it came naturally to Bapu. He was almost a child at heart, responding readily to goodness and beauty in man and nature.....

At Tolstoy Farm, in South Africa, Bapu saw that the boys and girls had the lion's share of farm work digging pits, felling timber and lifting loads. This gave them ample exercise. Besides, the children loved to do such work. They took pride in it. But it was not *all* work for them. Bapu would spend some time every day playing with them. And he would tell the younger ones stories.

He knew that children learn much more, and with less labour, through their ears than through their eyes. He therefore used story-telling to reach their heads and hearts. Once he said of a little child in the Ashram at Sabarmati, "Little Kana, by insisting on making me tell him stories, is making me an expert in the art. For you know, story-telling is an art. It is a marvellous way of imparting all kinds of knowledge to children."

Bapu has recalled an experience which shows what a hold story-telling had on the minds of children. Once he had been to Santiniketan, little Nandini Bala, living there, became sulky and peevish and would not accept a garland of flowers from him. For she found that some of the time Bapu would use for telling her stories had been taken up in talking to Poet Tagore ! "Who knows," Bapu wrote, "that she may be avenging herself because I was talking to Gurudev during her story-time ? How can one get to the bottom of

a child's displeasure or a king's ? If a king goes into a huff, a satyagrahi like me knows how to deal with him. But before a child's petulance my brilliant weapon loses its lustre. Moreover, silence day intervened. And so I have to leave Santiniketan without winning Nandini over. To whom can I tell this sad story of my failure ?"

Bapu used to feel sorry that he could never give enough time to the Ashram children, to know each one of them by name, to play with them and to win their friendship and confidence. And whenever he was in jail he used to write letters to every one of them, answering the many points they used to raise in their own little notes to him.

Bapu was in the habit of getting all manner of work from the children, his "vanar sena", as he used to call them. They were like Lord Sri Rama's monkey army which helped to bridge the sea to Lanka. And Bapu knew the tricks to employ for putting children to work. For example he got a group of them paste up and dispatch copies of his Green Pamphlet at Rajkot in 1896, after he had "bribed" them with used postage stamps of African countries.

At all his public meetings, whenever children were present, he marked them for special attention. He would present to them fruits which people brought for him. Flowers that were used to garland him soon found themselves around the necks of tiny tots on the dais. Once in a public meeting in Ceylon, he put the garland round the neck of a little pretty and bashful girl on the platform calling her his "little sweetheart !"

Bapu set great store on children : they were the wealth of the nation. And in the nation's struggle for freedom was he not happy and proud that little boys and girls took part in the *prabhat pheris*, singing patriotic songs, attending flag salutations, even braving lathi charges ? And he used to

say : "How could these innocent ones who gave up their toys, their kites and their crackers, join as soldiers of swaraj? That was only because our freedom fight was a non-violent one."

And many are the stories told of how little children, under the magic spell of Bapu, parted with their gold and silver trinkets and jewels when he begged for them for the sake of the poor Harijans.

Bapu believed that if we want to build a better world, we have to begin with the tiny folk of today who would one day rule it. "If we are to reach real peace in this world," he once said, "and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children. And if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions. But we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which consciously or unconsciously the world is hungering."

It was with this magic wand of love that Bapu drew little children unto him, for he was truly a child among children.

18. AMONG THE CHILDREN OF EAST END

Bapu went to England in 1931, to plead for India's freedom at the Round Table Conference. He preferred to stay at Kingsley Hall, in the midst of the poor workers of East End in London.

The workers were in a flurry : who should be the first to greet Bapu on his arrival at Kingsley Hall ? Which of the little boys or girls should welcome him ?

One girl had something to say in the matter : "Oh, do choose our little Frankie", she said enthusiastically, "He talks about Gandhi all day long. The other night he dreamed about him and woke up saying, "Where's Mr. Gandhi ?' "

So when Bapu came, little Frankie had the honour of welcoming him on behalf of his little friends. Bapu had said : "If the gates of the heart are open, everything can get into it." The children of East End had kept their hearts wide open for him.

The little ones gathered round him now and then, and had a chat with him whenever he was free. In their midst Bapu felt as much at home, he said, as among the Ashram children back in India. They put him all manner of questions, some simple, some puzzling, some even penetrating. In his answers to them, Bapu spread his message of truth and love.

"What is your language, Mr. Gandhi ?" asked one. Bapu in his reply took them through the sources of common words in English and in Indian languages. He wanted to show them that the languages were after all, children of the same father. One boy was so much struck by the similarity of the words that he said : "It shows how we are all of the same

breed." There was laughter at this, and Bapu said : "Then we are all one family and ought to be friends."

The little ones plied Bapu with questions about the weather in India and the games which the Indian children loved to play.

Another boy asked him why he wore the sort of clothes he did and also why he lived among them in East End. Bapu told him why. The same question had been earlier put to him by a newspaper reporter and he had replied : "I love the East End, particularly the little urchins in the streets. They give me friendly greetings."

Bapu wanted to sound them on non-violence. He asked them if any of the boys hit back when hit by someone of them. A dozen hands shot up. Bapu had then a chance to give them a simple lesson on the principle of non-violence. Perhaps he told them a story of his own childhood. He had once climbed a fruit tree in his father's garden and his elder brother had pulled him down by the leg. When he cried and complained of this to his mother, she advised him to give it back to his brother. Taken aback by this tit-for-tat counsel, he protested to his mother : "Should you not, Mother, prevent my brother from ill-treating me instead of asking me to do likewise?" In this context, he asked the East End boys : "What should have been really done?" "Make friends with him," they replied.

Bapu indeed felt completely one with them. To be surrounded by the happy children was a treat for him; he did not feel at all a stranger in their midst.

And how did the children react to Bapu in their midst? They wrote a number of essays on him. This is what one girl below ten years of age wrote of "Uncle Gandhi" :

"St. Francis of Assisi was called the little poor man of Assisi. He was just like Gandhi in every way. They

both loved nature, such as the children, birds and flowers. Gandhi wears loin-clothes like St. Francis did when he was on earth.

"Gandhi and St. Francis were sons of rich merchants. One night while St. Francis was feasting with his followers, he thought of the poor Italians. He ran out and gave up his rich clothes and his money to the poor and dressed himself in old sacks, just like Gandhi.

"St. Francis of Assisi took some of his followers. They made huts of trees. Gandhi did the very same thing. He gave up all his rich gay life to the poor Indian people. Gandhi's people gave him the loin-clothes to come to

London. As he told us children who go to Kingsley Hall that he was not rich enough to buy them.

"On Monday he has a day's silence for that is their religion. Gandhi for his birthday presents had wooden toys, candles and sweets. He lives on goat's milk, nuts and also fruits."

And this is what a boy of ten wrote in his essay :

"Mr. Gandhi is a Indian who was educated as a law student in London in 1890. He gave up this to help his country get better conditions.

"He has come to England for the Indian Round Table Conference to try and get back the trade for India. He has been trying to get the 'Brahmins' to let the 'Untouchables' come into their temples.

"They are about 6,000,000 people who do not know what a good meal is. He has given up all his belongings and trying to be one of the poorest Indians. That is why he wears the loin-cloth.

"His food is goat's milk, friut, and vegetables. He does not eat meat or fish because he does not believe in taking life. Gandhi in a Christian Indian.

"Mr. Gandhi spins his own cotton. He does an hour's spinning every day in England and even when he was in hospital. He has just come back from Lancashire visiting the cotton mills.

"He prays from Sunday 7 p.m. till Monday 7 p.m. and if you speak to him he does not answer you. When he came visiting, he came to my house and my mother was ironing but he said, 'Don't stop for I have had to do that myself.' I have shaken hands with him. The Indian word for 'Hullo' or 'Goodbye' is 'Namaskar'."

During his stay, Bapu visited the Children's House, an East End clinic and nursery. What he saw greatly

impressed him. He said : "It is an experience which will abide with me for life.'

Bapu was glad to meet the children in their homes and at places of public meeting. At one such meeting, some of the children decided to send to him a small deputation carrying a message of friendship to the children of India.

But an even more touching incident took place on Bapu's birthday in England. The East End children put together their small pocket money and bought him some tiny presents. When the time for return home to India came and he got into the train at Victoria, on way to Southampton, he turned anxiously to Muriel Lester, his hostess, and asked : "Are the toys all right?" He was thinking of the little woolly animals, coloured candles and chalk drawings which the nursery children in Bow had given him as gifts. "These are the only things I am taking back to India," he said, "excepting what I came with."

There was a sequel to this. Soon after Bapu returned to India, he was arrested and imprisoned at Yeravda. From there he wrote a long-delayed letter to the children of Bow :

I often think of you and the bright answers you gave to my questions when that afternoon we sat together. I never got the time when I was at Kingsley Hall to send you a note thanking you for the gifts of love you had sent me. I had hoped to transfer these gifts to the Ashram children about whom you should ask Aunty Muriel to tell you something. But I was never able to reach the Ashram. Is it not funny that you should receive a letter from a prison ?

But though inside a prison I do not feel like being a prisoner. I am not conscious of having done anything wrong.

My love to you all.

Yours
whom you call uncle
GANDHI

19. "MY DEAR CHILD..."

Bapu was a great writer of letters and hundreds of them were written to little children. Whether the child was in the Ashram or outside, in India or abroad, he always replied to little epistles from them. No child who wrote to him was ever disappointed.

There were many children in the Ashram : Indu, Sharada, Madhavlal, Mangala, Anand, Jekor, Pushpa, Mohan and Vanamala and many others. And he could not find it easy to write to each one of them, especially when he was travelling all over the country. When he was in jail, however, he used to find time for writing to them, but often

he would write a joint letter to them, sometimes separate ones.

Once, when he was in Yeravda Prison, he wrote;

"Ordinary birds cannot fly without wings. With wings, of course, all can fly. But, if you, without wings will

learn how to fly, then all your troubles will indeed be at an end. And I will teach you. See, I have no wings, yet I come flying to you every day in thought. Look, here is little Vanamala, here is Hari, and here Dharma Kumar. You also can come flying to me in thought. There is no need of a teacher for those who know how to think. The teacher may guide us, but he cannot give us the power of thinking. That is latent in us. Those who are wise get wise thoughts."

Bapu of course knew what to write to every child that wrote to him. To one child he would write : "Improve your hand-writing, there should be no spots." To another he would advise : "Keep a diary, it will help you to put down your thoughts and deeds in neat order." To a child which had complained to him of insects during the rainy season, he would write : "Innumerable insects are born during the rains. You should not collect the snails. Such insects are the creation of God. We do not know the use of them all."

To Shamal who had asked about God, he wrote :

"The best way to worship God is to see Him in all and so we should lovingly do service to all."

He could not always write long letters to the young children and sometimes they would be sore with him for it. For example, one wrote to Bapu : "Bapuji, you always tell us about the Gita. In the Gita, Arjuna asks just one question and Bhagwan Krishna rolls out a whole chapter in reply. But you answer our full-page questions with just a word or a sentence. Is it fair ? To him Bapu replied :

"Well, Bhagwan Krishna had only one Arjuna to deal with, while I have a host of Arjunas on my hands, and each of them is a handful. Don't I deserve sympathy?"

And the little children laughed.

And Bapu was closely interested in each child who wrote to him and in what he wrote. He would speak of his own experience too. For example, he once wrote from Yeravda Prison :

"Your attempt to write a letter to me was very good. And what a reindeer you have sent! What lovely horns! I am sorry I am not playing with the goats, though they are brought before me every day to be milked. I don't play because when they come, I am always doing something which I must not give up. Yes, there are a few flowers but nothing much to speak of. The ground is stony and they can't afford in prisons to lay out gardens."

At another time, the same child had written to him of her fun with birds. And he replied :

"I see you are making friends with birds. We have made friends with a cat and her kittens. I call her 'sister'. It is delightful to watch her love for her young ones. She teaches them all sorts of things by simply doing them."

To one child he could write with childish interest :

"I have preserved for you and Durgi pieces of coloured paper."

To another he could write mixing the light with the serious in his own unique way:

"I was delighted to have your sweet notes with the funny drawings made by you. You do not mind my sending one note for all of you. After all you are all one in mind though not in body. Yes, it is little children like you who will stop war. This means that you never quarrel with other boys and girls or among yourselves. You can't stop big wars if you carry on little wars yourselves."

To parents who wrote to him about their children, Bapu was equally attentive and courteous : to one mother, he wrote :

"If a child does not take milk, how can it do ? Milk alone should be taken when you are hungry and then you will get to like it."

To another mother upset with naughty children, he wrote :

"If children are stupid, remove stupidity with love, not by anger."

To a third mother who had sought his advice about toys :

"The idea of giving children dolls of different races was very good."

20. KINDNESS TO LIVING THINGS

Bapu has said :

"I believe all life is one.... Our dominion over the lower order of creation is not for their slaughter, but for their benefit equally with ours. For I am as certain that they are endowed with a soul as that I have."

Take the cow, for instance. Bapu called it a poem of pity. It represented, in his eyes, the entire sub-human

world. The farmers depended on cattle for many things. That was why the cow was sacred to all Hindus. It was wrong to practise any form of cruelty on the cow and on the rest of the animal world.

Bapu could not bear any ill-treatment of the cow. He had stopped drinking cow's milk because, in the process of milking it to the last drop, much physical cruelty was often caused to it. Bapu was against cow-slaughter. It was wrong from more than one point of view. But the best way of stopping the slaughter was to look after the cow well. Religion told us how to tend even weak animals.

Bapu could not justify killing, especially of harmless animals. He has said : "I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life be it ever so precious."

He was opposed to the use of animals for tests involving pain, mutilation and death in the name of experiments in medical science. When young, Bapu had wanted to be a doctor. But he gave up the idea because he had no heart to dissect frogs and other animals.

Bapu intensely yearned to serve the animal world. Man can explain his suffering, and can even try to free himself from it, he said. Animals cannot do this. It is the highest religion to end cruelty to animals.

Bapu believed that his service of human beings included service of animals. Such service was not opposed to the welfare of the animal world.

21. ALL LIFE IS ONE

Bapu was fond of plants even from childhood. There was no garden plot attached to the house. So he collected a number of plants in pots and put them on the roof. But when the family moved to Rajkot, he had a little garden of his own in the outer yard.

He would go to the garden in the evening, after return home from school, dig there and tend the plants. He awoke at crack of dawn, went to the garden on the outskirts of the town with a group of boys, washed his clothes at the tank, and on his way back, always took a few saplings to plant in his own garden. He picked up a good deal of knowledge about plants and flowers. He even advised friends in the care of plants.

The love Bapu had for plants and trees stuck to him till late in life.

One night it was getting time for Bapu to go to bed. But he desired to card some cotton and make slivers for the next day's spinning before resting for the night. Miraben wanted to put the bow right. She asked an Ashram volunteer to fetch her some *babul* leaves for applying to the gut of the carding bow.

The volunteer broke off a whole branch from a nearby tree and brought her the bunch of leaves. Miraben looked at them and saw that the tiny leaves had tightly folded up. She went to Bapu's room and showing them to him, said, "Do see, Bapu, how the little leaves have curled up in sleep!"

"Of course," said Bapu, looking at the tiny leaves in anger and pity. "Trees are living beings just like ourselves.

They live and breathe, they feed and drink as we do, and like us they need sleep. The tree rests at night. It is a bad thing to go and tear off its leaves then. Again, why have you plucked off such a huge quantity? Only a few would have been enough. Surely you have heard what I said at the meeting yesterday. I spoke of the poor flowers and how deeply it pains me that people should pluck masses of delicate blossoms and fling them on my face, or make a garland of them and hang it round my neck."

Miraben nodded. She remembered Gandhiji's speaking against the practice. He had said he could be happy if instead of flowers, people offered him garlands of handspun yarn.

"Was it not thoughtless of you to send the volunteer at this late hour of the night to fetch leaves? He only caused worry and pain to the tree when it had folded up its tender leaves for sleep. We should feel a more living bond between ourselves and the rest of nature."

"Yes, Bapu, I understand," Miraben replied in a low voice, hanging her head in shame. "It was very thoughtless of me. In future I will go myself to fetch the leaves. Also, I will endeavour never again to needlessly disturb the peaceful sleep of the trees by plucking their leaves after darkness has set in."

Miraben wrote down the incident later. On seeing it, Bapu commented : "Let no reader call this sentimental twaddle. Let him not accuse me or Miraben of hopeless inconsistency in that. We swallow a camel when we eat vegetables by the cartload, and strain at a gnat because we would not care to pluck a leaf from a tree having its night's rest. Even a butcher may be humane to a certain extent. He does not slaughter a herd of sheep when they are asleep. The essence of manliness lies in showing the utmost con-

sideration to all life, animal as well as vegetable. He who in search of pleasure shows little consideration for others is surely less than a man. He is thoughtless."

22. NURSING THE SICK

"What can be better than attending on the sick?", Bapu had once written in a letter to his son, Manilal. "A greater part of one's religion is contained in that."

This was not a mere idea or a pious thought with Bapu. Ideas and thoughts had no value for him unless reduced to practice. His companions had known that, from his early years in South Africa, Bapu had a deep interest in nursing the sick.

Once while attending to two sick persons in a room, an American missionary had asked him what his religion was. Bapu had pointed to the patients and said : "To serve the ailing is my religion."

To help in the healing of a sick body—his own or another's—was a matter of concern to him.

Often when Bapu visited a patient, he would not ask what was wrong with him, or how he had fallen ill. He would chat with him in good humour. When he left, the patient would feel greatly cheered up.

Bapu delighted in treating patients. Such was his interest in them that he would visit them morning and evening. He would let no one keep him away for long from a sick bed. The moment he was free, he would run to their bedside. He looked after them as if they were infants to be nursed by no one but him.

It was faith and strength of spirit that would keep the sick cheerful. In his Ashram at Sabarmati, there was a permanent invalid. He would often be down with asthma. But his face would show great calmness, such was his faith.

There was another, a woman. She had a low fever most of the time. But, looking at her face, no one could say that she was suffering from a long and serious illness. The reason for this cheerfulness, again, was her faith. Bapu was all praise for such faith.

Bapu believed that even a patient could be of service to others. He could think of God. He could create an atmosphere of love all around him. For this he would need to curb his anger. He should not be impatient with those who attended on him.

Bapu knew of one such patient in France, an eighteen-year old girl. Her illness was grave and she finally died. But she behaved with such love towards others during her last days that after her death she was canonized for her saintly goodness.

23. AMONG THE LEPERS

Bapu had a special concern for the lepers. It was a life-long one.

Once, many years ago, in South Africa, Bapu, was going round the small Indian colonies on the outskirts of towns. His co-workers and he were out enrolling members to the newly-founded Natal Indian Congress and collecting funds for it.

Between two such Indian quarters, Bapu had to pass through a thickly-wooded region. While walking through it, Bapu saw some human figures in the distance. They were flitting behind the trees. Perhaps they were trying to catch a glimpse of him.

Bapu turned to his companions and asked : "Who are these people? What are they doing here? They seem to be our own folk?"

His companions looked at one another in silence. Some of them were familiar with the area. But they were puzzled. One of them finally said : "Bhai, they are our people allright. But they are stricken with leprosy and are forced to live outside the limits of the town." Another said : "Bhai, they must have heard that you were due to pass this way and were eager to see you." A third said : "Come, bhai, it's not good to tarry here. They are most of them in an advanced and dangerous stage of the disease. Let us get away!"

Bapu shook his head. "No, we cannot do that. They have been waiting for us so long, poor souls. I cannot go away without greeting them." And so saying, in spite of the protests of his companions, Bapu went to them, talked

to them, and left them after a while, happy and comforted.

At another time, a leper went to Bapu's door. He gave him a meal, but had not the heart to send him away. He took him in, dressed his wounds and looked after him. But since he had not the means of keeping him always with him he sent him to the Government Hospital meant for indentured labourers.

At his Ashram in Sevagram many years later, one fine morning a man walked up to Bapu's hut. Bapu recognized him. He was a political worker, had gone to jail many times and was very learned in Sanskrit. He was afflicted with leprosy. He had wandered as a castaway and fasted for a long time out of loathing for his fell disease. Now, with the disease, far advanced, he had come to the Ashram. He had journeyed all the way from Hardwar in the north, where he had lived many years, a recluse.

When he saw Bapu, he was overjoyed. "I have now had your *darshan* and am happy. Here is the yarn I have spun for you. I thought I would offer it to you personally. I shall rest tonight under yonder tree. In the morning I shall be gone."

Bapu was touched by his affection. All night he argued whether he should let him go away or take him into the Ashram fold. By morning he had made up his mind. Parchure Shastri, for that was his name, would stay. Bapu had a hut built for him near his own. And every day he would visit him, tend his wounds with his own hands and nurse him.

Such was his compassion.

Once a Baptist missionary invited him to visit a leper colony in Orissa. Bapu readily went. He spoke to the lepers. Towards the end of his speech he said: "Why should I call these folk my brothers if I do not mix with

them?" So saying, he insisted that each of the poor, stricken lepers be brought to him. Many of them showed signs and marks of their disease. But he smiled at them, shook each by the hand, patted their heads and spoke words of cheer to them.

Bapu once said :

"India has a large number of lepers. We usually shun them, and keep them at a distance. We must realize that a leper is as much our brother as any other. On no account should we shun them."

On more than one occasion Bapu set an example of right conduct towards the poor leprosy-stricken.

24. WITH THE DISABLED

Bapu had a particularly soft corner for the disabled and crippled. He had a way all his own of dealing with them.

Once Bapu had a letter from a woman of over 70 years of age. She had written : "I have followed your work for many years. I want to tell you that you have been a great comfort to me, blind and deaf as I am. I have typed this letter rather badly. I hope you will be able to read it."

Bapu picked out her letter from a heap of correspondence and chose to reply to her first. He wrote : "You are neither blind nor deaf. For you have eyes of the soul that can see."

Bapu always found time for humble, suffering folk.

At another time, a young man of seventeen went to Bapu at Maganwadi in Wardha. He was suffering from a disease called St. Vitu's Dance, a nervous disorder. He could not control his shaking hands and feet. No one had any use for him. He found life a burden. So, in despair he went to Bapu. He was determined to stay with him.

Bapu's first thought was of sending him away. What could he do with such a one? But, later, he changed his mind. "If I turn him away, where will he go?" he asked himself. "Let him stay and I shall consider how best to use him."

Bapu put him to work in the kitchen. Could he help to wash the vegetables? The young man said he would try. By dint of practice he even learnt to use a knife. Within a few months he was almost normal.

Bapu's gentleness, sympathy and understanding had helped him. The boy had developed enough will-power to get over his trouble.

Bapu's attitude towards the maimed and the crippled reminded one of Christ's concern for them : "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavily laden and I will give you rest. My yoke is easy and my burden is light."

25. FAITH IN NATURE CURE

Where there is absolute purity, inner and outer, illness becomes impossible. The man who eats to live, who is friends with the five powers—earth, water, ether, sun and air and who is a servant of God, the creator of all these, ought not to fall ill. This was Bapu's faith.

Man must strictly observe the rules of personal, domestic and public cleanliness or sanitation. He must take due care in the matter of diet and exercise. Then there should be no occasion for illness or disease.

Whenever there was illness, Bapu did not think of medicine as a cure. Disobedience of Nature's Law and wrong living were responsible for disease. He therefore went to the root cause of the trouble.

His way of obtaining a cure was to bring back the patient to respect Nature's Law. More than drugs it was the right mode of living that would help man's return to health.

This Bapu called Nature Cure. He believed that nine hundred and ninetynine cases out of a thousand can be brought round by means of proper food, water and earth treatment and similar household remedies. Thus everyone can become his own doctor. Faith in God and the right mode of living were the secret of all health. □

26. CALMNESS IN PRESENCE OF DANGER

Once at Tolstoy Farm, in South Africa, Gandhiji told his German friend, Kallenbach, that it was a sin to kill snakes and such other animals. Kallenbach and other European friends there were shocked to hear this.

"If it is improper to kill serpents and the like, we must cultivate their friendship," thought Kallenbach. He then collected books on snakes and studied them in order to find out their different species. He learnt that not all snakes were poisonous and that some even served as the farmer's friends, protecting his crops. Kallenbach taught other Ashram inmates how to recognize different kinds of snakes. He also tamed a huge cobra on the farm and used to feed it with his own hands.

Seeing this, one day Bapu said to him : "You do all this in friendly spirit. But your friendliness may not be quite clear to the cobra. Also, your kindness to it is mixed with fear. For neither you nor I have the courage to play with it if it is free. What we need is that courage. There is no love in the act of taming the cobra. Our behaviour should be such that the cobra can be seen through it. Every day we see that all animals can grasp at once whether we love or fear them. Your idea is to study the cobra, not ready to get friendly with it. Such study has no place in the case of real friendship."

In spite of this, Kallenbach could not find it in his heart to set the cobra free. Even Bapu took interest in the life of the cobra and the children immensely enjoyed seeing it. But one day it escaped from the cage.

People at the Ashram shed much of their fear of snakes.

But Bapu had not totally banned killing them. To have a conviction that there is violence or sin in a certain course of action is one thing. To have the power of acting up to that conviction is quite another. A person who fears snakes and is not ready to risk his life cannot avoid killing snakes in case he finds that he is in danger.

Bapu's own life provided one example of this. It happened at Sabarmati Ashram. It was one chilly evening in 1917. The evening prayer was just over. Bapu sat on his *diwan*, propped up against a pillow. Bapu had covered his back and shoulders with a shawl. Ravjibhai, an Ashram inmate, sat talking with Bapu. Suddenly, he noticed from some distance a strange black line gently writhing on the white cloth. Leaning forward and observing it intently, he realized it was a large black snake which had climbed Gandhiji's back. Having reached his shoulders, it was looking for something solid which it could climb next.

Bapu saw the look of terror on Ravjibhai's face and asked: "What is the matter?" By this time Ravjibhai had

recovered his usual calm. He knew that if he lost his nerve and shouted or gave the alarm, it might frighten Ba and others. And in the scare, the snake might bite.

So he said to Gandhiji, in a whisper : "Nothing particular, Bapu, it is a snake crawling on your back. Keep still!"

"I shall keep still," Gandhiji said in a steady voice. "But what do you propose to do?"

"I shall gather the shawl by its four corners and quickly whisk it off your back and shoulder—snake and all."

Gandhiji nodded . "I understand. I shall keep still. But you had better be careful."

Ravjibhai gently tiptoed towards Bapu. By this time the snake had sensed something and curled up in the folds of the shawl. Swiftly Ravjibhai picked up the ends of the shawl and hurried away from the spot. Before the surprised snake could creep out, he had let go two ends of the shawl, opened it and flung out the snake as farthest as he could.....

Later, Bapu was asked how he had felt during the episode. Bapu replied : " I had one moment of pure terror, but only one! I recovered my presence of mind immediately and then I felt nothing. I only thought that, if the snake bit me, I would say to everyone, 'That snake must have nothing to fear because it has bitten me. It must not be killed, but allowed to go free.' "

27. FEARLESSNESS

In his childhood, Bapu had suffered from fear. He had been afraid of the dark, and of ghosts, as children usually are. One day his nurse, Rambha, taught him the secret of Ramanama. "Recite it whenever you are afraid," she advised, "and you will have no more fear." Bapu tried this, put his trust in God and was never again cowed down by fear—real or imaginary.

To the Ashram inmates he once wrote :

"Why should anyone be afraid who knows that God is the Protector of all? By saying that God is the Protector of all, I do not mean that none would rob or harm us. If such fear possesses us, it is not want of capacity in God to protect us : it is our own want of faith in Him.

"The river is ever ready to give water to all. But if one does not go to it with a pot to fetch water, or avoids it fearing the water to be poisonous, why blame the river for it? Fear is a sign of lack of faith."

Bapu seldom lacked this faith. And so he rarely suffered from fear.

Once in South Africa, Bapu found his German friend, Kallenbach, carrying a loaded revolver. He asked him why he did it. Kallenbach replied : "Bhai, I have heard that some bad people are planning to attack you."

Bapu said : "And you want to protect me from such attack?"

Kallenbach replied : "Yes"..

Bapu smiled and said : "Well, now I need not have any fear. You have taken over from God His responsibility of protecting me. As long as you are there, I can consider

myself safe from danger. Your love for me has led you to take the place of God for defending me;"

Kallenbach heard Bapu's gentle banter and put his revolver away.

Again, in Champaran, Bapu was inquiring into the hardship of peasants. The white planters were forcing them to grow indigo on the farms.

One day someone came and told him : "The planter of this place is the worst of the lot. He is bent on murdering you. He has employed bad men to kill you."

When Bapu heard this, he went out alone in the night to the planter's bungalow. He told him . "I hear that you have engaged men to do away with me. That is why I have come alone and in secret to your house."

The planter was struck dumb from shame.

Bapu had in his life many occasions for fear. Most men would have lost their nerve but he faced the situation calmly. He trusted God to protect him as long as He needed him for His work.

This freedom from fear was usual with Bapu. Once Bapu had gone on tour to the North-West Frontier Province. He wanted to see for himself how the hardy Khudai Khidmatgars had become soldiers of *ahimsa* or non-violence.

Bapu was the guest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of the Khudai Khidmatgars. He was so close to Bapu in his non-violence, that people called him, Frontier Gandhi.

At Charsadda where Bapu had halted for the night, he saw Pathan sentries armed with guns around the house. "What is this," Bapu asked Khan Sahib, "Why are these armed guards here?"

Khan Sahib replied : "Bapu, they are here only for defence. We want to keep away people who might want to

hurt you. The guns are only meant to frighten them."

Bapu shook his head.

"I do not need them," he said. "Take them away."

Khan Sahib understood. A man of God seeks no protector but Him. He ordered the guns to be taken away from the sentries. When the brave Pathans saw this, they exclaimed : "Marvellous is this man's courage. He has no fear of death. . . ."

Yes, Bapu had no fear of death.

How could he have fear who had made it his life's mission to teach people to cast away fear? He had wanted them to be manly, to walk erect, and be unafraid, and look all men in their face. "That nation will be great," he had told them, "which sheds fear and uses death as its pillow."

28. WOMEN WITHOUT FEAR

Women have no need at all to be full of fear, Bapu had said time and again.

He once told the Ashram inmates a story of Mirabai, as an example of fearlessness. Mirabai had gone to Vrindavan and knocked at the door of a *sadhu*. The *sadhu* replied from inside the hut that he never looked at women. Mirabai asked him : "Who are you? I know only one man and that is Shree Krishna."

On hearing this, the *sadhu* opened the door, bowed at the feet of Mirabai and said, "You have opened my eyes today. I have been saved from an abyss."

Most people living with Bapu had learnt fearlessness from him. In Wardha, women went to lonely places, walked alone in the night, or lived among strangers. Miraben was one such.

One day Bapu asked her :

"How is it that no one is worried about your living alone in the midst of thousands of men and that all trust you? What have you done to deserve that trust?"

"I have done nothing," said she, with tears of joy in her eyes. "It is your doing."

"But I have not treated you with any partiality, as you know to your cost!"

"Even then, it is you who have put that fearlessness into me, the fearlessness to live one's life in the midst of millions."

During the Salt Satyagraha of 1930, countless stories of the heroism of simple village folk had reached Bapu. Women were not behind menfolk in their bravery and their fearlessness.

One such story particularly moved him to write of it in his paper, *Young India.*

"During the great awakening that took place last year amongst women, there were heroines whose mute work the nation will never know. Now and then one gets information of such village work. Here is one such sample sent by a friend."

And he gave the story in bare outline. The details could be somewhat as follows :

Baladongal was like any of the thousands of Indian villages. During the Salt Satyagraha, Congress volunteers, most of them young boys, were holding a training camp in a nearby town. The Government had banned the Congress. The camp was declared illegal, raided and broken up. The boys were beaten black and blue, some of them till they fainted. A number of them were arrested and among them was Habu, in his early teens, the only son of a poor widow from Baladongal. The others dispersed.

Just as Habu was being hustled into the police van, half-conscious, he whispered to the boys as they were going away: "Go to my village, tell Mother what has happened to me. And tell her, too, that I was not afraid of the police, that I stood their beating well."

The boys went to Baladongal and searched out Habu's little hut. They met Habu's mother, told her the police had taken away Habu. But that he had not been afraid of them. They did not go into details.

Habu's mother heard them in wide-eyed silence. Her eyes slowly filled with tears. But she smiled bravely as she said : "Poor me. Why should I cry? Habu has gone to jail so that the Motherland may be free. I am only his mother. I must be proud of him and must not weep."

She insisted on the volunteers staying on in her little hut.

They said : "Are you not afraid of the Police? Suppose they come to know that you have sheltered us. Will they not punish you?"

Habu's mother smiled wistfully. "What could they do to a poor widow? And would it not be nice if they put me in jail too? Habu was never afraid. Let me be worthy of him by being at least as fearless."

The volunteers were silenced. Their eyes glowed with admiration. No wonder Habu was brave.

Night and day she used to cook for the Congress volunteers, who worked in the village. She nursed the sick among them. She consoled those who were troubled in heart. Thus she became a real mother to the boys who, being far away from home, would otherwise have felt motherless. Among them were one or two who were graduates and M.As. They were proud of their college education. But all of them were even more proud of her simple and rustic boldness, unlettered and poor though she was. And in humility they called her "Mother".

Bapu had once said : "The world little knew how much of his so-called 'Mahatmaship' depended on the sacrifice and heroism of countless women, women without fear, no less than men. Without doubt, Bapu had women like Habu's mother in mind."

29. GIFT OF LAUGHTER

Bapu had said on more than one occasion : "If I had no sense of humour, I should have long ago committed suicide."

Few men in history have carried such great burdens or responsibility on their shoulders as he did. At his bidding in the Freedom Struggle, hundreds of thousands had cheerfully gone to jail, many of them over and over again. Thousands had given up their jobs, lost their property or other belongings. Hundreds had suffered loss of limb, even of life, during the lathi charges and firings ordered by the British Government. Bapu himself went to jail several times, both in South Africa and in India. He suffered many privations. Often he could not have visitors or get newspapers to read. During his last imprisonment, at Aga Khan Palace, Mahadev Desai, his devoted secretary, who was like a son to him, and Kasturba, his wife and companion for over sixty years, died. The Government had blamed him for all the trouble in the country. He had thus a heavy cross to bear. Yet throughout his life, his sense of humour, his child-like gift of laughter never left him.

Those who came in touch with him were always struck by his sense of humour. They noticed "his high spirits, his sense of fun, his ability to see the ludicrous side of things. Devadas Gandhi, his youngest son, once said : "Of all memories of Bapu, there is none so abiding as his hearty laugh, born of deep faith." Faith in himself, trust in God, a belief that all will be well in the end, a habit of seeing the bright side of things and people—these were the elements which made up the magic of his humour. It was nothing less. For his laughter cast a spell over people around him,

infected them and made them laugh too. As one American friend of Bapu, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, has said : "His sense of humour was instant and contagious, his eyes twinkling with a merriment which was irresistible !"

"If I had no sense of humour," Bapu once wrote, "the attacks I have had to face would have killed me long ago. But I have a living faith in God, and so long as He guides my footsteps, I do not care what people say about me. I take it lightly and can laugh with even those who laugh at me. This is what keeps me going."

Bapu's light-heartedness with children was a special quality. Once when he was in Yeravda Prison, a young Ashram girl, Sumitra, had wanted to join him. This Bapu heard of from another Ashram girl, Ninu. He wrote back to her : "Either Sumitra may commit theft and be convicted, appear in male guise, be big after being drawn through a machine and appear to be sixteen years of age, or she should have four instead of two legs and a tail. Then, I may be permitted to keep a cat. Is Sumitra willing to become a cat, with four feet and have a tail? If so, take medicines from Gangaben who is coming here, grow feet and tail and send her !"

Once there was to be a workers' conference in Gujarat and many workers wanted conveyances. Bapu said : "We want thousands of workers. If all of them demand horse-carriages, our pilgrim band will never reach Dwarka!"

At a meeting where he was to speak, he reached thoroughly tired. He said : "I am glad the address to me has been taken as read. I wish that my speech be also taken as made, though, of course, the purse to me cannot be taken as given!"

Even when ill he would have his wise-cracks. Once he wrote in reply to an anxious enquiry about his health :

"Though the doctors say that the blood pressure is high, I notice no effects of it. And three doctors and three instruments gave three different readings yesterday : 200, 180, 160? ?? What is one to do when doctors differ!"

He did not put too much faith in doctor's prescriptions. Once he wanted a formula for a good washing and toilet-soap. He wrote to a co-worker : "You may remember what Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray said about tooth powder. He said 'The tooth powder of the.... Works was for fools, but chalk or powdered coal was the best tooth-powder for wise men... !' Is there no such simple soap prescription for wise men?"

A doctor friend had lost his teeth. Bapu wrote . "What a shame that a doctor becomes toothless, as I am! Ask Haribhai when doctors become ill, in whom should we have faith?"

Many are the anecdotes and instances which show Bapu's light-heartedness. And their quality showed itself even when he was dealing with foreigners.

When in London in 1931, during the Round Table Conference which he attended, the famous movie comedian, Charlie Chaplin, called on him. Chaplin was taken aback that Bapu had never heard of him. This made no difference, however, and for the next half-hour, it was Bapu that kept the comedian laughing!

During his visit to Lancashire, Bapu met a worker and asked him :

"How many children have you?"

"Eight, sir, four sons and four daughters," was the reply.

"I have four sons," said Bapu, "and so I can race with you half way!" And there was laughter all round.

Bapu had been invited to call on King George V, then

Emperor of India, at Buckingham Palace. Court rules regarding formal dress for visitors were suspended in Bapu's case. He went to the Palace in his usual loin cloth. The event became headline news in Western papers!

A French journalist asked him how it came about. Bapu told him simply . "You in your country have *plus* fours, I prefer *minus* fours !"

To another inquisitive Westerner he is reported to have observed, "His Majesty had on his body clothes enough for *both* of us!"

In any situation, his wit was on the alert. Once an English student asked him : "Why are you so uncharitable to those who drink?" Bapu replied : "Because I am charitable to those who suffer from the effects of the curse!"

While he was in London, Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, had wanted to consult him. At the same time, a London postman had walked miles and was waiting outside to see him. Gandhiji chose to see the postman first, saying with a twinkle of his eyes : "I will see the man of letters first. A statesman can wait, for that is his job. He is always waiting for circumstances to force him to move!"

It has been recorded that at a Press Conference, a journalist asked Bapu if he would agree to be Prime Minister of the future Government of a free India. "No," Bapu is reported to have said : "it will be reserved for younger minds and stouter hands!" Perhaps, he was thinking of Jawaharlal Nehru. The newspaperman persisted : "Suppose the people want you and insist?" There was a roar of laughter, as Bapu smilingly replied, "I will seek shelter behind journalists like you!"

In my own life, I had an experience of Bapu's unfailing sense of humour. A friend of mine, now no more, and I had

been called to meet him at the Nature Cure Clinic, in Poona, in July 1944. There had been some dispute over two books of Bapu's thoughts which my friend and I had compiled, with Bapu's blessings.

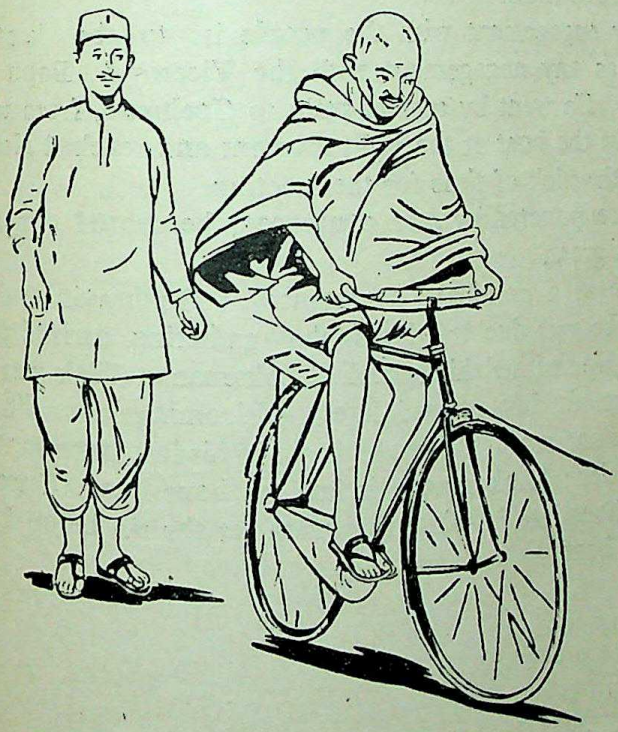
It was soon after his release from Yeravda Prison. He was not well and was resting. Mentally he was in much anguish over the situation in the country. Yet there was no outward sign of it. At the end of an hour's talk, in which he permitted us to publish the books, my friend handed over to him a cheque for a thousand rupees or so, our royalties on *Quit India*. It was a book of his thoughts, which had sold by the thousand after his arrest on August 9, 1942. Yet Bapu refused to accept the money, saying : "You are entitled to the fruits of your labour." My friend persisted, saying he was under a vow not to retain it. "But I did not ask you to take the vow?" Bapu observed, but finally accepted the cheque, saying, "It is at your own wish, mind you. After all, I am a Bania, you see...." His child-like laughter that accompanied the remark filled the room as with sunshine, lit up our hearts, and showed us his capacity to laugh even in the midst of a turmoil within.

Examples of Bapu's humour are legion. It was never without a point. It showed his child-like nature, his intense humanity and his freedom from complexes. It helped him to meet the buffets of changing fortunes. And, as he said, "Even my jokes are meant to bear a lesson within them."

30. THE PRICE OF PUNCTUALITY

Bapu was very keen on punctuality; he took all his engagements seriously and kept them to the minute, whatever the cost.

On one occasion Bapu was staying at the Sabarmati Ashram and was due to attend a meeting of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth Senate. No vehicle could be sent to him in time. Getting restive, Bapu left on foot; he insisted on reaching the place in proper time. On the way he realized that he



could never make it, walking all the distance. He saw a khadi-clad worker approaching on a bicycle. He stopped him and explaining that he needed to rush to the Vidyapeeth, got on the bicycle and pedalled away for all he was worth. Those who had gathered for the meeting were amazed to see him trundling along to them by bike. It was a rare treat to see the Mahatma cycling!

Typical of the importance he attached to being in time on all occasions is what once happened in Dacca. He was due to speak at a village called Nawabganj. Because of a landslide, the mail train was running late. There was little hope of his reaching the place in time unless he took some extraordinary step. This he did when a co-worker suggested a special train.

"My engagement with the people is to be kept as strictly as any engagement with the Viceroy." Bapu explained. He went by special train to Goelundo, from where he caught the boat at the right moment and reached Nawabganj in the nick of time for the meeting.

Where punctuality was concerned, he spared none, not even the great.

Once at a political conference at Godhra in Gujarat, Bapu, who was due to address the gathering, arrived punctually. He finished his speech. Lokamanya Tilak was also due to speak, but arrived late. Welcoming him with due deference and respect, Bapu still said in his introduction to the great leader : "Lokamanya is half an hour late. If we are half an hour late in winning *swaraj*, let the sin be on Lokamanya's head!"

31. ACCOUNTING FOR EVERY PAISA

Quite early in life, Bapu had learnt the value of money. Kaba Gandhi had never hoarded money for his children. He believed it would spoil them. Instead, he gave them a good education. That was why Mohandas hardly knew pocket money. And, when he wanted to go to England for his legal education, he had to run from pillar to post for financial help. It was only the day before he sailed that he could collect money for his passage.

In England, he counted his pennies. He was extremely frugal and kept careful watch on how he spent them.

Once he had overpaid a penny to a fruit-seller and ran after him to recover it, but did not. He never forgot it. The fragment of a diary he kept in his London days and a *Guide to London* that he wrote afterwards talk of prices and bargains in articles of daily use and where to make the best of them. No wonder, for he had to stint every penny. "Without money," he wrote in 1891, "I felt as if I was a bird without wings."

Bapu's advice was : "Let every youth take a leaf out of my book and make it a point to account for everything that comes into and goes out of his pocket, and, like me, he is sure to be a gainer in the end."

Bapu has written in his *Autobiography* of his efforts at thrifty living and noting down his expenses as a matter of daily routine : "I kept account of every farthing I spent, and my expenses were carefully calculated. Every little item, such as omnibus fares or postage or a couple of coppers spent on newspapers would be entered and the balance struck every evening before going to bed. That habit has stayed with me ever since. . ."

Quite true. For in 1896, the Natal Indian Congress of Durban had sent him to India, for acquainting people there with the problems and hardships of their countrymen in South Africa. He was given £75 to meet the travelling, printing and out-of-pocket expenses in India. On his return to Durban in December, he submitted a statement of his expenditure for the period July 5 to November 29. In it he mentioned not only major items like railway fare, hotel bills when he stayed in Bombay or Calcutta, bills for printing pamphlets and reports, cost of cables to South Africa or England, but also the smallest items.

These included water charges from half an anna to two annas; charity to beggars or the street magician of an anna each; tips to the telegraph boy, the station peon, guides, gardeners, keepers and porters from one to four annas; tram fare of one anna; ink, or soap or newspaper purchases for an anna each; and sundry purchases like tape, lace, etc. at one anna each.

Bapu was the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, had the trust of all and could have easily lumped together miscellaneous odd expenses or even omitted them. But this would never do. Such was his keenness to account for every anna entrusted to him.

At the time of the Boer War in South Africa, during 1899-1902, he collected subscriptions for the Patriotic League Fund from Indians. Those lists and statements of accounts were available even many years later.

He used to receive fairly large donations from India for the satyagraha struggle in Africa, and he rendered account of what he had received and spent.

We have a beautiful example of Bapu's sense of responsibility in the case of public funds. In 1920 or so, he had planned to have a building for the national school at

Ahmedabad. But because of a very serious influenza epidemic in the city, the construction had to be put off. Bapu had received a handsome donation of Rs. 40,000 from a businessman. But he insisted on returning it to him. He said : "The purpose for which the gift was accepted is postponed. I should return the money, till we need it again. Why should we keep other people's money with us?" The donor, of course, did not accept it back.

Of all public funds which he collected during his various movements, he had meticulous accounts kept. He used to say . "If we do not account for every single pie we receive and do not make judicious use of the funds, we shall deserve to be blotted out of public life."

He himself had no personal property and he had never used public funds for his own personal needs. He asked his friends, too, never to do so.

He would spare none, however near or dear to him, if they neglected to account for money given to them or used part of it for their own use. Once Kasturba had kept some petty amount from the Ashram funds for her use. When Bapu came to know of this, he not only openly scolded her, but apologised publicly in his paper for his wife's lapse.

During his Harijan uplift movement, he used to collect cash, gold and silver ornaments for his work. Often at wayside railway stations or places where he halted during a motor car journey, he would collect small coin from the poor. And these would fill several bags. His secretaries and companions had a job of it for days counting the coins, preparing statements of the collection and publishing lists of donations in Bapu's *Harijan* weekly.

For he always held :

"Public money belongs to the poor people of India than whom there is none poorer on earth. We have to

be more wakeful, more cautious, more careful, and let us be ready to account for every pie that we receive from the public. Without properly-kept accounts, it would be impossible to maintain truth in its pristine purity."

This rule he applied to individuals as well as to institutions.

And in this matter, as in all others, he personally set the example; for to him the best precept was practice itself.

32. THE IMPORTANCE OF TRIFLES

In the Sevagram Ashram, there was a board in the dining room : "I hope all will regard the property of the Ashram as belonging to themselves and to the poorest of the poor. Even salt shall not be allowed to be served in excess of one's needs. Water too may not be wasted."

Bapu believed in the proverb, "Waste not, want not." He put great value on thrift.

Bapu would not waste even paper. For example, he would not throw away paper only one side of which was written on. He would use the other side too. He saved for use half-sheets of blank paper from letters which he had received. Even odd bits of paper he would use for scribbling short notes or making drafts. Used envelopes too he would turn inside out and write on them. When he was away from the Ashram and wrote to its inmates, he would put all the several notes in one envelope and post them. Even paper pins and safety pins he would not throw away.

Once Bapu visited a boy's school hostel. He was sorry to see the conditions there. This was the advice he gave on the occasion :

"There should have been a vessel or bucket to collect the water at the foot of the tree where the boys wash. Otherwise all that water would run to waste. Besides, it breeds mosquitoes.

"Some boys were using torn bedsheets. They should have been patched up. Or doubled and turned into quilts. I did much blanket-quilting when I was in jail in the Transvaal. Such blankets are warm and last long. Torn rags should not be treated as waste. They should be properly washed and

kept. They can be used for mending clothes and in a variety of other ways.

"Some boys, I found, do not have sufficient clothing for winter. Some have too much. Why should this be so? Those who have too much must share their clothes with those who have too little. That would be a fine object lesson in mutual aid.

"I saw bamboo screens on the verandah. Why are these needed? A verandah must have plenty of fresh air, warm sunshine. The screens shut out both.

"All these may appear to be trifles; but all things are made up of trifles. My entire life has been built on trifles."

One day Bapu was searching furiously for something. He appeared much upset.

Kakasaheb who saw this asked him: "Bapu, what are you looking for?"

"A small pencil," Bapu answered.

Kakasaheb took out one from his attache case to give Bapu.

"No, no, I don't need this. I want only the small pencil I am searching for," Bapu said firmly.

"Use this one for the moment, Bapu," Kakasaheb said, "I shall search for yours later."

Bapu shook his head. "You do not understand, Kaka. I should not lose that pencil. It was given to me by the young son of a dear friend. And with what love did he run up and give it to me! How can I afford to lose it, though it is only a wee bit of a pencil?"

They both searched for it and soon found it. It was the little butt of a pencil. But Bapu was at ease only when he had found it. Nothing was too small for him.

His companions had a similar experience; once he had misplaced his handkerchief. He started searching for it all

over the place. Others joined in the hunt for it. They offered him another to save him the trouble and as he had to hurry to a meeting. But he would not take it. At night when he put away his small shawl, he found the truant handkerchief pinned fast to it with a safety pin.

33. HOW BAPU ADOPTED THE LOIN CLOTH

"My loin cloth is an organic evolution of my life," Bapu once explained in *Young India*. How did this evolution take place ?

During his student days in London, Bapu put on European clothes. From then on till nearly twenty years after, he stuck to them. The first time he thought of changing them was when the police shot down some Indian strikers in South Africa. He then cast away his western dress as an outward expression of deep mourning and put on the clothes of an indentured Indian labourer. The familiar picture of Bapu as a *satyagrahi* in 1913 shows him in those clothes.

When Bapu returned to India in 1915, he wore typical Kathiawari clothes : shirt, dhoti, turban and shawl. When he went to Champaran two years later, he was still dressed in the same style. But it was there that the change began. While Bapu was inquiring into the troubles of indigo labourers, he saw the terrible backwardness of the Bihar villages. He realized that they would make no progress without proper education. But mere schools also would not do. Education for clean living and sanitation too was necessary.

Bapu formed a band of voluntary teachers for the purpose of village reform. Most of them were inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram. Kasturba, too, whom Bapu had sent for, was among them.

Bapu explained to the workers that they were to teach not merely grammar and the three R's, but also cleanliness and good manners.

Bapu told them : "The villages are insanitary, the lanes full of filth, the wells surrounded by mud and stink, and the

courtyards untidy. The elder people badly need education in cleanliness. They are all suffering from various skin diseases."

The companions decided to do as much sanitary work among the villages as possible. It was necessary to enter every part of their life. Teams of workers visited various villages.

Once Bapu and Kasturba visited Bhitiharva, a small village where they had set up a school. Nearby was a smaller village. There Bapu found some of the women dressed very dirtily. He was shocked at their uncleanliness. He asked Kasturba to talk to them and find out why they did not wash their clothes.

Kasturba spoke to some of the women standing near the hut. One of them took Kasturba inside and said: "Look now, there is no box or cupboard for holding other clothes. The sari I am wearing is the only one I have. How am I to wash it? Tell Mahatmaji to get me another sari. I shall then promise to bathe and put on clean clothes every day."

Crest-fallen, Kasturba reported this to Bapu. He was deeply disturbed. He knew that this poor cottage in Bihar was not the only one such in the country. It was very common. The poor villagers who lived in millions of cottages had not only no furniture, they had not even a change of clothes and covered themselves with rags.

The incident made a deep impression on Bapu's mind. He spoke of it to the people at many meetings. It is possible that it started in his mind the resolve to simplify his dress and bring it more in line with the scanty clothes of the masses.

But the actual change over to the loin cloth came only in September 1921. Bapu has himself told the story of this change.

He was on a tour of the South as far as Madurai. He travelled by train. In the crowded compartment, he saw people who, without exception, were wearing clothes made of foreign cloth. Bapu started talking to them of Khadi. They shook their heads and said : "We are too poor to buy Khadi, and it is so dear."

Bapu thought over what they said. There was some truth in it. But the full truth came home to him with greater force. There were millions of people who were forced by their poverty to wear only a *langoti*. What of them ? "What effective answer could I give them ?" Bapu asked himself.

The only way in which he could show understanding of their condition was to make his own dress absolutely simple. He had his vest, Gandhi cap and full dhoti on. He must cast them away and take to the loin-cloth. Only in this manner could he bring himself closer to the poorly-clad masses.

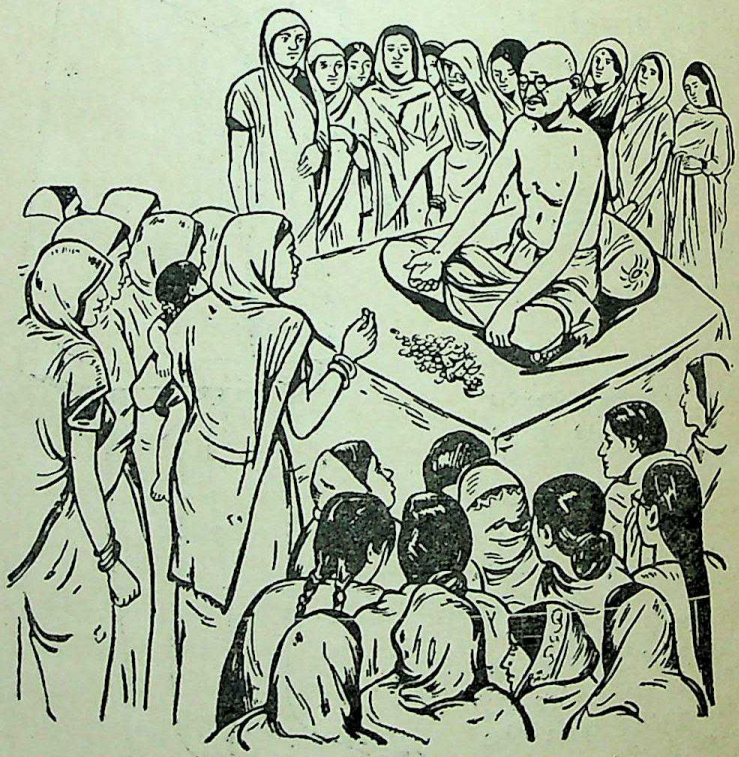
Next morning, Bapu called in a barber and had his head shaved. He discarded his cap and his vest. In the place of the dhoti, he wore a piece of khaddar, a cubit in width, around his loins. That was to become his famous loin-cloth, and he wore it to the end of his days.

Years later when, in London, he was asked to explain why he wore so meagre a dress, he said simply: "In India several millions wear only a loin-cloth. That is why I wear a loin-cloth myself. They call me half-naked. I do it deliberately in order to identify myself with the poorest of the poor in India."

34. GIFTS OF THE POOR

Nothing gave Bapu more joy than the gifts of the poor. He prized them more than the purses given by the well-to-do. They helped to set up a bond of fellowship with them. Once at a women's meeting, in Andhra, the simple village women made their way to him, with babes on their hips or in their arms. One by one they loosened the end of their saris tucked in at the waist and, picking up the pices, dropped them in Bapu's hands.

And Bapu said : "It gave me great joy when I saw pice after pice coming into my lap. Those eyes and those hands



showed me unmistakably that they were the heart's gifts. They were all that they had. The gifts of those pices were richer to me than the calculated gifts made by donors to the purse."

At some wayside railway station in Bihar, the train by which Bapu travelled was pulled up. There was a rush of hundreds of simple rustic folk for his darshan. They had waited for hours for it. And they dropped coins, in Bapu's outstretched palms seeking alms for the Harijan fund. The coins they gave were all covered with green mould. And Bapu said : "This gift is a blessed one. For me it is a sanctification and a dedication."

At another time Bapu was touring the villages of Orissa. Their poverty was terrible. Miraben had suggested that they should really wear fewer clothes than the Oriyas.

Staggered at the sight of their rags, Bapu accepted the suggestion as proper. The poor villagers gave to Bapu what they could—a variety of vegetables; a few untied their kurti and dropped copper coins in his hand. Deeply touched by their condition, Bapu even wished to settle down in their midst and help them.

They were all forms of *Daridranarayan*—the God in the Poor.

35. LITTLE KAUMUDI'S SACRIFICE

It happened during Bapu's tour of Kerala, in February 1934. He was going all over the country, collecting funds for Harijan work. He had reached Badagara.

As usual, a large crowd had gathered to greet Bapu and to listen to him. Bapu spoke quietly. He appealed to the women to part with their jewellery. He made it a practice now to sell whatever gifts he received from the people and use the money for Harijan uplift.

Bapu said :

"In this country, there are millions of poor people who live in a state of semi-starvation. Eight out of ten people take food which is not enough to satisfy hunger. In such a country it is a crime to wear ornaments. They offend the heart and hurt the eye. True, a women in our country has hardly any cash of her own. Still the gold and silver jewels she wears belongs to her. They are her *Stridhan*. But she dare not part with it without the consent of her lord and master. If she does give it away for a good cause, she does something noble."

The crowd listened in pin-drop silence. Bapu continued :

"Most of the jewellery that you women wear is not artistic or pretty. Some of it is really ugly and collects dirt. Such are your anklets, heavy necklaces, clasps worn—not for holding the hair in place—but purely as a decoration for uncombed, unwashed and often evil-smelling hair. Look at the row upon row of your bangles from wrist to elbow. I think that wearing such jewellery is a waste and a loss to the country."

A silence fell over the crowd. The women looked down. Bapu's words pierced like arrows. But there was no sting in them.

And then came the final appeal.

"Give all such jewellery to me. I will employ it to drive away the evil of untouchability from the country. I will use it for the service of the poor Harijans—the children of God —our own kith and kin."

Just as he had finished, a sixteen-year-old girl made her way through the crowd and walked up to where Bapu was sitting on the wooden dais. She was simply dressed and without guile. She asked gently : "Bapu, may I have your autograph ?"

She did not wait for an answer. She slipped off a gold bangle from her slender left hand and gave it to Bapu. She knew he would ask it of her.

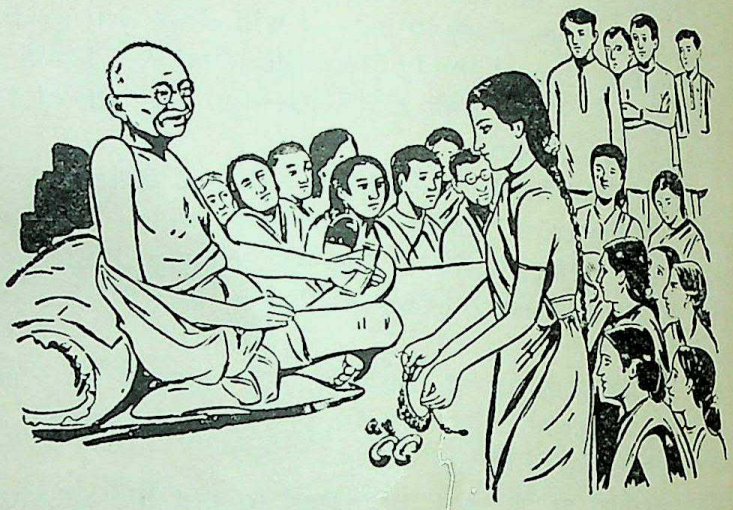
Bapu smiled at her and prepared to put his autograph on a page of the note-book she had placed before him. Just then she took of a second bangle, this time from her right wrist and placed it in Bapu's hands.

Bapu was taken aback. He said : "You need not have given both the bangles. I would have given you the autograph for only one of them !"

But this did not stop Kaumudi, for that was her name. Without word, she proceeded to remove the gold necklace. This was not easy. It had got entwined with her long, thick, black tresses. Somehow she forced the ornament at last and, in the full view and admiring gaze of the crowd, she placed it at Bapu's feet.

Bapu was visibly moved. "Have you your parents' permission for this sacrifice ?" he asked her. Kaumudi did not reply. She had not yet completed her sacrificial offering. Now her hands went to her ears. The fingers started deftly unscrewing the jewelled ear-rings. The crowd, unable to contain its joy at this sight, cheered and clapped.

Bapu drew Kaumudi to him and said : "Kaumudi, my



child, you have not yet told me if your parents agree with this act of self-denial." And then someone near the dais said : "Bapu, Kaumudi's father is here. He is helping to raise bids for the addresses presented to you and being auctioned. He is no less generous than his daughter, and indeed, is known in these parts for his charities.

Bapu smiled and, turning to bashful Kaumudi, said: "Look, my child, you have done well in giving me all your jewels. But, see, you must promise never to replace them. Will you ?"

Kaumudi nodded vigorously, to reassure him. Bapu inscribed his signature in her note-book and handed it to her. He said : "Your giving away all your gold is a truer ornament to you than what you have discarded."

The tale of this beautiful act of Kaumudi is incomplete without what happened on the last day of Bapu's Kerala tour, at Kozhikode.

Kaumudi and her father had come there to take leave of Bapu. He was curious to know what had inspired Kaumudi to give away all her gold. He asked : "Kaumudi, did you come to the meeting with mind already made up ? Or did you decide on the impulse of the moment ?"

It was Kaumudi's father who replied : "She had made up her mind at home and obtained our consent."

Bapu understood, but wanted to probe her mind a little more. "Kaumudi, will not your mother feel sorry to see your neck, hands and ears bare of jewellery ?"

Kaumudi replied with a knowing smile : "She will be sorry, but I am sure she will not compel me to wear it again."

Bapu was not prepared to let it end there. "But when you get married," he said, while Kaumudi blushed, "as in due course you will, your husband may not like to see you bereft of ornaments. What then will you do ?"

The shy look on Kaumudi's face turned to seriousness. She bent her head in thought.

"You see, Kaumudi," Bapu went on earnestly, "I have a moral difficulty before me. I have written in my paper *Harijan* about your sacrifice. It is wonderful indeed. I have said in the article that you would never wear ornaments again. If you are not prepared for that, I shall have to change that part of the article, or you will have to stand firm against the wishes of your future husband. You are a Kerala girl, and so very brave. I know you are capable of so doing. Or, you will have to select a husband who will be satisfied to have you without ornaments. Tell me frankly, what do you feel ?"

Kaumudi was listening to Bapu with rapt attention. She turned his words over in her mind. It was a great decision she was called on to make. She thought for a while. Then,

as was her wont, she said simply, "I will select a husband who will not compel me to wear ornaments."

Bapu's eyes beamed with delight.

"Once, years ago," he recalled, "there was a woman named Annapurna. She was married, but she discarded all her jewellery at my bidding, promising never to wear it again. She kept her pledge till the moment of her death. She is no more, but now I have you."

And wherever Bapu went, he spoke of Kaumudi's sacrifice. For he had written, "It has been my privilege to witness many touching and soul-stirring scenes during a busy life packed with a variety of rich experiences. But I cannot recall a scene more touching than what I saw during my work for the Harijan cause."

36. HUMILITY

Bapu used to say :

"Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility. If you would swim on the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to zero.

"The seeker after Truth should be humbler than the dust.

"So long as man does not of his own free will put himself last among his fellow-creatures, there is no salvation for him.

"The mango tree as it grows spreads and bends lower. Similarly, as the strength of the strong increases, he should become progressively more humble; he should become more and more God-fearing."

Bapu himself was the symbol of true humility. He claimed to be no more than an average man with less-than-average ability. He was a seeker after Truth. He knew his limitations, made mistakes, but never hesitated to admit them. He even confessed "Himalayan" blunders. "I am gifted with enough humility," he once said, "to look even to suckling babes for help."

He did not claim to be a Mahatma. He refused to accept that he was a saint. He said : "I do not feel a saint in any shape or form." He had no desire for prestige anywhere. It was paraphernalia required in the courts of kings. He had no need for it.

More than once he described himself as a farmer and a weaver.

An observer once said of Bapu : "This humble man is unconquerable. His humility is a thing for tears, it is so sincere and touching."

In the course of one of his prayer addresses Bapu asked: "Of what use is knowledge in which there is no humility or tenderness ?" He then recalled the story of the Sage Kaushika.

When a bird dropped dirt on the sage's body, such was his power that his angry look reduced the little bird to ashes. The sage then visited a house as a guest. The lady of the house was busy serving her husband. So Sage Kaushika had to wait till she was free to attend to him. When she had finished her duties, she offered food and hospitality to the guest. At the same time she expressed regret for the delay.

The sage lost his temper. But the lady did not show any fear. On the other hand, she calmly observed : "I am

not a bird to be reduced to ashes by your anger; besides, such anger cannot be called wisdom." He learnt a lesson and said: "You have given me two kinds of food today—food to eat and the food of wisdom." He had learnt the lesson of humility.

37. AT HOME WITH THE LOWLY

Wherever Bapu went, he was attracted to the poor. They were uppermost in his mind. The lowly and the lost, the down-trodden and the despised were to him so many representatives of *Daridranarayan* or God in the form of the poor. Service of God could only mean service of the poor.

To reduce himself to their level was an obsession with him. He believed that the kingdom of God is for those who are meek in spirit. "Let us therefore learn at every step to reduce our needs and wants," he would say, "to the terms of the 'poor' and to be truly meek in spirit."

And this he applied first to his own life. Not to have anything which the masses did not have became a rule with him.

Once at Sabarmati Ashram, Bapu consulted doctors how to avoid the malaria epidemic. It used to come every year. The doctors' advice was simple : "Use the mosquito curtain."

Bapu said : "How can all afford a mosquito net ? Is there no means which the poorest can afford ?

The doctors suggested one. That was to keep the body properly covered, and to smear the face with kerosene oil. This would keep the mosquitoes away. Bapu accepted this solution.

He gave up the mosquito net and started smearing his face with kerosene oil at bed time.

At another time he was asked by a foreign visitor why he slept on the ground and did not use a thick mattress. Bapu's explanation was : "I do all this to merge myself with the poor millions of India."

He travelled third class on the railways for the same reason.

Once he described his state of poverty thus :

"I own no property, and yet I feel that I am perhaps the richest man in the world. For me the dispossession has become a positive gain. My contentment is the richest treasure I have. Hence it is perhaps right to say that though I preach poverty, I am a rich man."

One day Bapu was the guest of a zamindar in Bengal. The latter served Bapu milk and fruit in golden bowls and plates. He knew that they had been provided from the toil of the ryots. Bapu asked : "How can I reconcile myself to these costly luxuries ? I would not mind using your gold plates provided your tenants are comfortable enough and use at least silver plates. But when their life is one long-drawn-out agony, how dare you have these luxuries ?"

In all that he did the consideration was always whether it would help the poor millions. He once prescribed a tails-

man : "Whenever in doubt about a particular action, recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man you may have seen. Ask yourself if the step you are taking is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything from it ? And then act."

All his movements were for improving the lot of the masses. As he once said of the famous Salt Satyagraha : "It was for the poor, semi-starved village people that I pleaded for free salt."

Talking of Bapu, one could recall Tagore's words : "The lamp burns and gives the light." Bapu breathed and lived for the poor.

38. THE CALL OF VOLUNTARY POVERTY

Bapu has spoken on many occasions of how he came to accept voluntary poverty. Once he explained it at some length thus :

In the course of his search for Truth, he had made several discoveries. But the necessity for poverty came to him first of all. The acceptance of poverty was a hard and difficult struggle in the beginning. It meant a wrestle with Kasturba, and, equally, with his children as well. Bapu had vivid recollections of it. He has, himself, told this story.

During his struggle, Bapu came to one definite conclusion. He was cast in the midst of people to whose difficulties he was a witness from day to day. If he had to serve them, he must discard all wealth, all possessions, reduce himself to zero.

The progress in this task of giving up all possessions was slow. It was also painful at first. But as days went by he saw that he had to throw overboard many things which he considered as his. A time came when it became a matter of positive joy to give up those things. Once he even persuaded his co-worker Kallenbach to throw into the sea a pair of costly binoculars. Those who lived and worked with him had likewise to give up property and possessions.

He saw clearly that the less one possessed the less one wanted, the better one would be. Better for what ? Not for enjoyment of this life but for enjoyment of personal service to one's fellow beings, service to which one dedicated oneself, body, soul and mind.

As one after another the things slipped away from him, he felt that a great burden had fallen off his shoulders. He

realized that even if anyone desired to possess such things, he must hold them at the disposal of those who might want them. Whenever they wished to take them, he must be willing and ready to surrender them. That to Bapu's mind was the meaning of voluntary poverty. And he exemplified it in his own life.

39. THE NEED FOR DISCIPLINE

Bapu said :

"I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man. They have taught me discipline.

"A large majority of us being undisciplined, our daily experience is that of fighting or swearing at one another on the slightest pretext.

"Discipline may be very hard, but I know that it is necessary and beneficial. Discipline is as necessary for the individual as it is for the organization.

"Discipline knows no rank. A king who knows its value submits to his page in matters where he appoints him as the sole judge.

"Discipline is the essence of democracy. And, therefore, a born democrat must be and is a born disciplinarian.

"Non-violence cannot act madly because it is the very essence of discipline.

"The highest form of freedom carries with it the greatest measure of discipline and humility. Just as a fire or a waterfall cannot be utilised unless skilfully controlled, so awakening too is useless without discipline.

"Voluntary discipline is the first pre-requisite of corporate freedom. Without it, *Ramarajya*, which means the kingdom of God on earth, will remain an empty dream.

"Discipline is learnt in the school of adversity. And when zealous young men will train themselves to responsible work, without any shield, they will learn what responsibility and discipline are.

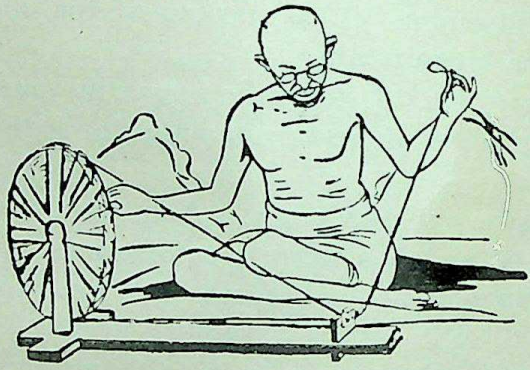
"There will have to be rigid and iron discipline before we can achieve anything great and enduring. Mass discipline is an essential condition for a people who aspire to be a great nation."

40. THE CHARKHA AND THE POOR

Bapu used to say :

"I would go without a meal than without the wheel.

"I think of the poor every time that I draw a thread on the wheel."



He saw that the occupation that could give employment to millions could only be hand - spinning. No other village craft could put so much money into the pockets of the largest number of villagers. The capital, as well as the organizational effort required, was so little.

Spinning is the Sun and the other village crafts the various planets in the solar system. The Sun gives the warmth of life.

Spinning for the sake of the poor was a sacred obligation.

"God dwells more often in the homes of the poor," Bapu said.

"Hence spinning for the sake of the poor is the Supreme Prayer, the Supreme Sacrifice, the Supreme Service."

The symbol of *dharma* for India is the spinning wheel. It alone is the friend of the distressed and the giver of plenty for the poor.

Spinning had become a part and parcel of the Ashram

prayer. The Ashram inmates believed that in the Charkha and what it stood for, lay the only hope of salvation of the poor.

The message of the spinning wheel is one of simplicity; service of mankind; loving, so as not to hurt others and creating an indissoluble bond between the rich and the poor, capital and labour and the prince and the peasant.

The spinning wheel represented to Bapu the hope of a better life to the masses.

To Bapu, Khadi was the symbol of unity, the economic freedom and the equality of the Indian people. In the poetic words of Jawaharlal Nehru, it is "the livery of India's freedom."

41. THE DUTY OF BREAD LABOUR

God created man to work for his food and said that those who ate without work were thieves. This was Bapu's conviction.

That man must work in order to live, Bapu learnt from Tolstoy's writings on bread labour. Ruskin's book *Unto This Last* only confirmed it. The third chapter of the *Gita* told Bapu that he who eats without body labour eats stolen food.

Bapu believed that this body labour could truly be related to agriculture alone. But everybody is not able to take to it. A person can therefore spin, or weave, or take up carpentry or smithery, instead of tilling the soil. Agriculture can always remain the ideal.

If everybody lives by the sweat of his brow, Bapu believed, the earth will become a paradise. Obedience to the laws of bread labour could bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. Labour has its unique place in the cultured human family.

Bapu said : "I cannot imagine anything nobler or more national than that, for say, one hour in the day, we should all do the labour that the poor must do, and thus identify ourselves with them and, through them, with all mankind."

Bapu practised this in all his Ashrams: Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, Sabarmati and Sevagram Ashrams in India.

There can never be too much emphasis placed on work. The Lord has said in the *Gita* : "If I did not remain ever at work sleeplessly, I should set a wrong example to mankind."

Finally, Bapu held that *Karmayoga* or, simply, activity, leads to salvation. One who does body labour out of a spirit of service in all humility and for self-realization, gets self-realization. Such a one should never feel reluctant to work. He should ever be tireless.

42. HARIJANS: THE MEN OF GOD

From childhood Bapu's heart rebelled against untouchability. A scavenger boy, Uka, used to come to his house to remove the night soil and clean up the yard. Young Mohandas had strict orders to avoid physical contact with Uka. If perchance he touched him, he had to go through the ritual of a bath to wash away the pollution.

Now Mohandas was a very affectionate, dutiful and obedient child. He would not do anything which went against the respect due to parents. But on this problem of Uka, he disagreed with his parents, particularly with his mother. Of this, he has written: "I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka sinful. If the Lord pervades water and land and everywhere, how could He not be in Uka also?"

Perhaps Putlibai found it difficult to answer the question. There were not lacking stories from the Indian Epics to show that untouchability was not always recognized. Did not Guha the boatman, in the *Ramayana*, row Rama, Lakshmana and Sita across the Ganga? Were they then polluted by the touch of a "low-caste"? And did not Lord Krishna partake of milk at Vidura's hovel? So Bapu argued.

"Love of the people," he once explained, "brought the problem of untouchability into my life." His revolt against it began when he asked his mother why touching Uka was a sin.

Many are the episodes which show Bapu's concern for the so-called "depressed classes" or "panchamas" as the "untouchables" were called.

In 1915, Bapu picked up a Harijan boy at Tranquebar

in the South. At that time his Ashram was situated at Kochrab, a village some distance from Ahmedabad. Bapu took the boy with him to the Ashram.

He was the picture of dirt. Bapu had his head shaved. He was then given a good wash. His head, eyes, ears, nose were thoroughly cleaned. His nails which had collected dirt were cut. His dust-laden feet were scoubbed and washed.

He was made to wear a simple dhoti, vest and cap. In a few minutes his appearance had so changed that he looked like any boy from a cultured home.

This went on almost daily. The lesson in cleanliness was kept up at least for three months. On another occasion

Bapu came across a Harijan boy, ill with light fever. Bapu took charge of him, carried him in his arms to his room, bathed him himself, fed him and nursed him till he recovered.

Bapu even faced serious trouble in the Ashram over the subject of untouchability. A Harijan family, Dudhabhai, his wife Daniben and their daughter Lakshmi, a tiny babe, sought entry into the Ashram. Dudabhai had been a teacher. He readily agreed to obey the Ashram rules. Bapu took them in.

Those who were helping to meet the expenses of the Ashram did not like this. They stopped the funds. This was followed by rumours that the Ashram would be boycotted. Bapu and his co-workers were ready to face all this. Bapu said : "If they do that too, we will not leave Ahmedabad. We will rather go away from the Ashram and live in the Bhangi quarters and live on whatever we can earn from working with our own hands."

Things soon became very difficult. Maganlal Gandhi came and told Bapu : "We are out of funds and there is nothing for the next month." Bapu calmly replied : "In that case, we will go to the Bhangi Colony."

At the critical moment a rich man called, gave Bapu a big sum of money and the crisis was averted. Bapu's faith was strengthened.

Meanwhile, Bapu adopted Lakshmi and brought her up as his own daughter.

He could never bear to see men being humiliated and hurt because they were born "low-caste". He has himself described one or two such incidents.

One such incident took place in December 1927. "It was at Bolgarh, thirty-one miles from the nearest railway station, that whilst I was sitting and talking with Dinabandhu Andrews, a man with a half-bent back, wearing only a dirty

loin cloth, came crouching in front of us. He picked up a straw and put it in his mouth and then lay flat on his face with arms outstretched and then raised himself, folded his hands, bowed, took out the straw, arranged it in his hair and was about to leave. I was writhing in agony whilst I witnessed the scene. Immediately the performance was finished, I shouted for an interpreter, asked the friend to come and began to talk to him. He was an 'untouchable' living in a village six miles away, and being in Bolgarh for the sale of his load of faggots and having heard of me, had come to see me. Asked why he should have put the straw in his mouth, he said that was to honour me. I hung my head in shame. The price of honour seemed to me to be too great to bear. My Hindu spirit was deeply wounded. I asked him for a gift. He searched for a copper about his waist. 'I do not want your copper, but I want you to give me something better,' I said. 'I will give it,' he replied. I had ascertained from him that he drank and ate carrion because it was the custom.

"The gift I want you to give me is a promise never again to put the straw in your mouth for any person on earth; it is beneath man's dignity to do so; never again to drink because it reduces man to the condition of a beast, and never again to eat carrion, for it is against Hinduism and no civilised person would ever eat carrion."

"But my people will excommunicate me if I do not drink and eat carrion," the poor man said.

"Then suffer excommunication and if need be leave the village.

"This down-trodden humble man made the promise. If he keeps it, his three-fold gift is more precious than the rupees that generous countrymen entrust to my care."

Bapu did not like the word "untouchables" or that they

should be called by degrading names like "panchamas" and "antyajas". He remembered how Narasinha Mehta, the saint-poet of Gujarat, had claimed the "untouchables" as his own folk and called them "Harijans".

So Bapu himself started using the word "Harijan". "Harijan" had a deep meaning to him "a man of God".

Bapu wanted Harijans to be treated like any other Hindus. So when roads were banned to them in Vaikom, in Kerala, he approved of a long struggle of satyagraha till the roads were thrown open to them. For many years Bapu had

refused to go to temples as Harijans were refused entry there. He was even ready to fast so that they may be admitted to them. As a result of his fasts, many big temples were thrown open to Harijans just as to other Hindus. He under-

took a fast to change the British Government's Communal Award, which treated Harijans as separate from the Hindus. He risked his life on more than one occasion for the Harijans, because he believed that Hinduism could not live if untouchability remained. Caste and creed should not divide men. In his religion, there was no room for high and low. All were the children of God.

"The untouchables are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. I would love to die so that they may live, and live with perfect dignity and self-respect. My attitude is that I myself belong to the Depressed Classes."

Such was his concern and compassion for the Harijans that he went to the length of writing : "I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and free them from that miserable condition."

To him *Swaraj* would be no *Swaraj* if it did not mean freedom and self-respect to the lowliest people.

43. THE POWER OF PRAYER

Bapu was a man of faith and prayer. No act of his was done without prayer.

On all occasions of trial Bapu claimed, God had saved him. These trials were sometimes of a spiritual nature, sometimes they came in running institutions, others occurred in politics.

He had his fair share of the bitterest private and public experiences. They threw him into despair for the time being. It was prayer that helped him to get rid of it.

Prayer was part and parcel of his life. It was, as he used to say, the key of the morning and the bolt of the even-

ing. Without prayer, life seemed to be dull and vacant. "Prayer is to the soul what food is to the body!" Indeed, Bapu believed, food for the body was not so necessary as prayer for the soul.

If only one tried, one would find that daily prayer added something new to one's life, something with which nothing could be compared.

God answers prayers in his own way, never ours. He never answers the prayers of the arrogant, or of those who bargain with him. One must approach God in utter humility, without reservations, fear or doubt.

Bapu never found God lacking in response. He found Him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest. In jail, Bapu had many ordeals. It was never smooth-sailing at such times. But he never had a feeling of God having deserted him.

Prayer, however, was no substitute for duty. Indeed devotion to duty could itself be prayer.

Prayer, according to Bapu needs no speech. It is better to have a heart without words than words without a heart.

Prayer is the most powerful aid for overcoming cowardice and other weaknesses.

Prayer is impossible without a living faith in God. Without prayer inner peace is impossible.

Of the power of prayer, Bapu's life provides many examples.

Once, in 1924, he fasted for 21 days in Delhi, because he wanted that there should be unity among Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all other communities.

During the fast, Bapu's health suddenly became worse. The doctors were alarmed. They had warned him, before he started the fast, that his health was poor. He might not be able to stand the strain of a long fast.

But Bapu had not heeded them. He had said :

"I shall fast, but not to die. I want to live. So, when at any time, you see that my life is in danger, you may tell me so. I shall then see what to do. If need be, I may even stop the fast."

The doctors now recalled this assurance to Bapu. They told him that his life was in danger. If he continued the fast, he might even die.

Bapu thought for a while. "Will it be dangerous to continue fasting for another 24 hours? After that I shall obey your orders."

The doctors consulted among themselves. They agreed that if Bapu fasted for another 24 hours, the risk would not be too great. But after that they would not take responsibility for his life.

Bapu understood their warning. He continued the fast for another day. He observed complete silence; he shut his eyes and prayed all the time.

The doctors watched by his beside in anxiety. When the 24 hours were over, they examined him again. Strangely, his condition had not turned worse. On the other hand, it was better than before.

They could not understand it all. "Bapu, you have cheated us," they said. Bapu smiled. It was only the power of prayer.

44. "FATHER, FORGIVE THEM . . ."

In Bapu's public life there were several occasions when he was physically assaulted by those who considered him their enemy. Often he stood in danger even of losing his life and narrowly escaped. Yet he would not be party to the punishment of those who had attacked him.

For, he believed that they had acted from ignorance; and that before it the hardest heart must melt and the grossest ignorance must disappear and that suffering without anger and malice was a great force. If that happened, those who attacked him would realize their mistake and give up their hatred of him.

(I) *The Footpath Incident*

The first incident happened in Pretoria. Bapu always went out for a walk through President Street to an open plain. President Kruger's house was in this street. It was a very modest and simple building. It had no garden and it looked like any other house in the neighbourhood. There was a police patrol before it. This was the only sign that it belonged to an official. Bapu used to go along the footpath by its side, without the slightest hitch or hindrance.

The police patrol on duty changed from time to time. Most of the guards knew Bapu by sight. But once when Bapu was passing by the footpath, the officer on duty was a stranger. He suddenly pushed and kicked Bapu on to the street. Bapu was dismayed. He was about to ask the officer why he had been so rude and violent. Just then, a Christian friend of Bapu, Mr. Coates, was passing by that road. He had seen the whole thing happening. He hailed Bapu and said : "Gandhi, I have seen everything, I am sorry.

I shall gladly bear witness in court to the rudeness of the man who has assaulted you like this."

Bapu replied : "You need not feel sorry. What does the poor man know? To him all black people look alike. He no doubt treats Africans just as he has treated me. I have made it a rule not to go to court for any personal grievance.

Lumbini Year—1979

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(Publicity Sub-Committee)
Babar Mahal
Kathmandu 7101
Nepal.

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LUMBINI KAPILAVASTU

Published by:
HMG / NEPAL.
THE LUMBINI DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
(Publicity Sub-Committee)
Babar Mahal
Kathmandu 7101

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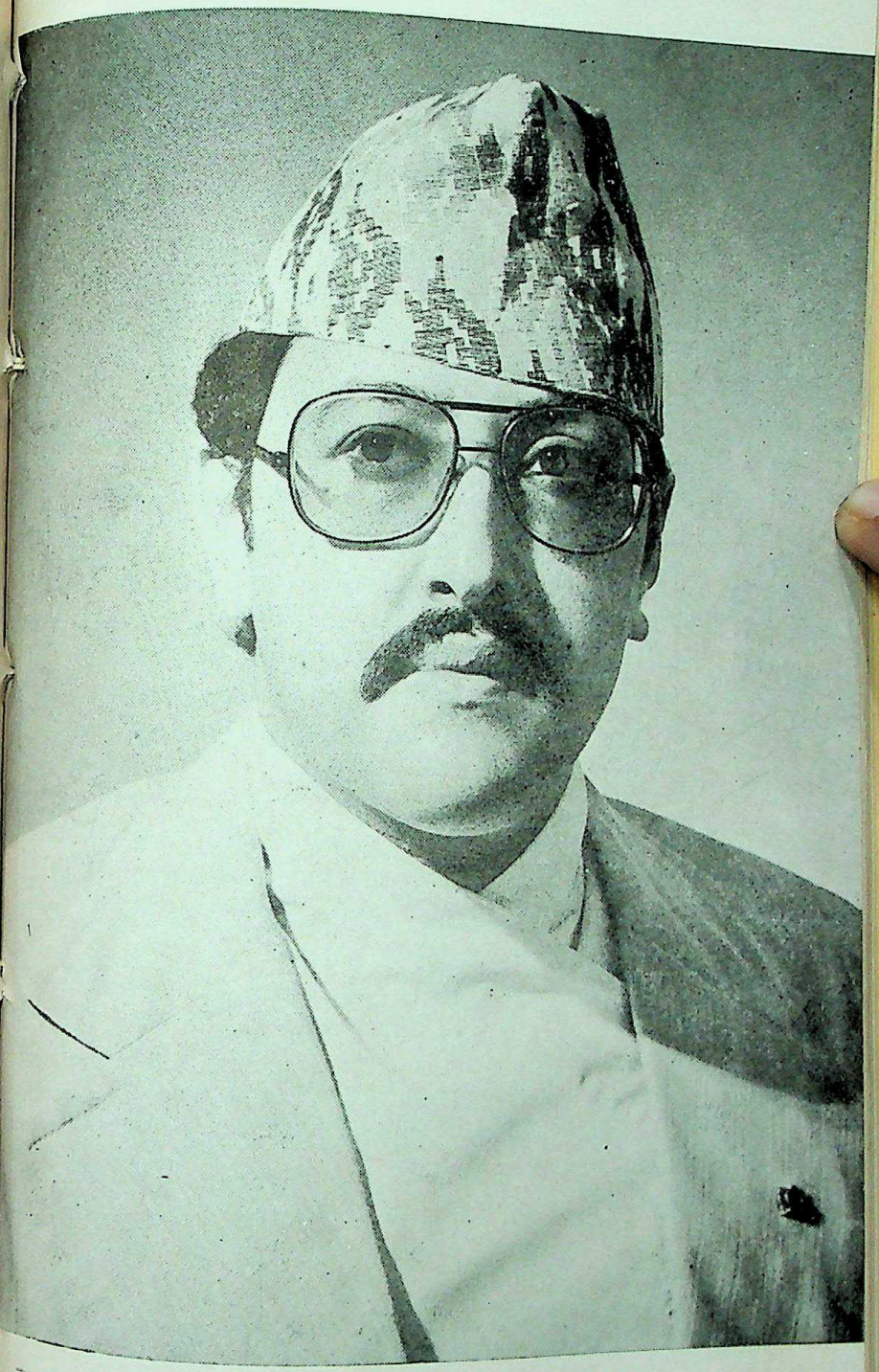

His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

ROYAL MESSAGE

I am happy to hear that the twelfth World Fellowship of Buddhist conference held in Tokyo sometime ago passed a resolution to observe the year 1979 A. D. as the Lumbini Year. While I am hopeful that this resolution will help to bring about an increased tempo in materialising the master plan for the development of Lumbini, it will also help, I believe in reminding us all of the gospels of Gautama, the Prince of peace.

As apart of Nepal's contribution to these ends, we will intensify our efforts to complete, if possible within this year, a metalled road linking Siddhartha Highway with Lumbini. In addition, we will also extend airport facilities, provide drinking water, electricity and other infrastructural components as Nepal's share to the development of Lumbini.

While it is natural for us to expect our countrymen to come forward with whatever assistance they may lend within their means and desire, institutions and people interested in developing the birth-place of the Buddha will be more than welcome to cooperate to fulfil the long-felt dream of developing Lumbini.

His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

EXPENDITURE BY HMG

Up to october 1979

1.	Land Acquisition	Rs. 6,968,316
2.	Bhairahava-Lumbini road	Rs. 33,144,000
3.	Electricity (up to sub-statics)	Rs. 3,000,000
4.	Archaeological works	ks. 1,364,000
5.	Implomentation (Construction, Afforestation)	Rs. 9,587,000
		Rs. 54,063,316
	Equivalent to US $	4,505,276

A. Fund provided by HMG of Nepal up till now US $ 4,505,276

B. Fund Received from various countries and individuals US $ 203,800

Buddhism in Nepal

Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi

(Reputed Scholar on Nepalese History, Former Foreign and Education Minister HMG. / Nepal.)

In Nepal, then the Nepal valley, where today a section of Newars are called Buddhist. There was little impact of a foreign invasion Buddhism did not lose its ground, but here, too, Buddhist followers looked little different from Brahmanical laity. However, the process of amalgamation had begun quite earlier. It appears that there was much of deep interaction between the two sets since quite a long time with the result that Buddhism could little retain its exclusive character ; on the otherhand it got wholly submerged in the broad Brahmanical religion. The followcr of Buddha worshipped Brahmanical deities and respected the Brahmanas and cows and bulls; the only difference being, the rituals were conducted by those who were probably monks in the earlier period but had now followed a lowly profession of goldsmith. The Nepalese form of Buddhism which thus emerged was caste and priest ridden ritualistic Vajrayana, a mixture of Brahmanical and Mahayana Buddhism - esotericism. All customs and manners are similar.

If Brahmanical followers take it as a sin to eat beef, the other sect also feels the same way. It must be remembered that the Tantric in this society goes back to the very early period of history, and has pervaded all aspects of our religious beliefs whatever their affiliation. The Buddhists and the followers of Brahmanism do not seem here to belong to differents faiths. they are adjusted together in one social system enjoying their place on caste basis, and so much so that one can not draw a demarcation line between the followers of Buddha and Brahmanical religion.

In Nepal valley one has to distinguish the Buddhists from the followers of Brahmanism by the character of the priests, Guvaju (Bajracharya or Sakya) or the Brahmanas as the case may be. There is no other line distinction. In respect of caste, rituals, observance of festival and their respect for Brahmanas and divinities of both faiths, for cows and bulls. These are looked upon as divine, they seem to belong to the same religion. In these circumstances sometimes it appears strange that some scholars or visitors divide people in the Nepal valley into two categories as Buddhists and Hindus. We must know that basically they have a common society, common culture and common religion.

The above description does not, however, apply to the hilly lands of the Gurungs living in the valley of the river the Seti, and the Madi, the Marsyangdi and Budhi Gandaki; and of the Tamangs dwelling in the valley of the Aku, the Trisuli, the Bhote Kosi and the Liku. They are the only people besides a section of the Newars of the valley and Bhotias of the northern border districts, who are labelled as Buddhist. The Gurungs and Tamangs live at high altitude of the mountains with the cold but not severe cold climate. Some 60 - 70 years back the

Gurungs and Tamangs had no religion. They were animists, one of their subtribes performed the priestly duties. The high altitude habit of theirs was not approachable to those who came from down the plains. Ordinarily the Brahmanas could have ventured to ascend the upper valleys and provide religious leadership to the local inhabitants they did in adjacent west in Bheri - Rapti valleys. Palpa, Gulmi, western parbat districts of Kali Gandak basins. The result was the Bhotias, Lamas from across west Tibet descended to the Gurung and Tamang belt and mix with them offering priestly guidance on special occasions, of ceremonical observances. Actually the Lamas did not live with them but came in time while their presence was necessary. Thus Lamaism was introduced in areas where Gurungs and Tamangs dwelts. But this Lamaism should not be confused with Tibetan Lamaism. The Gurun s and Tamangs followed a simple form. They know of Tantric deities. Guru Rimpoche who was no other then Padmasambhava was worshipped as deities and his image is displayed in every household but other *Gurus* (Lotsava) have no place. Sakyamuni or Buddha, however, was emotionally the principal sources of the cult of worship. Of late Brahmanical deities and rituals are just drawing the tribals to their side.

Buddhism in Central & S. E. Asia

Buddhism as well as Saivo - Visnuism (Brahmanical) had flourished in Central Asia since the second century B. C. In south Asia also these commanded popular respect since 6th. centuary A. D. The Buddhist culture still priests in Vietnam, Thailand Cambodia, Laos, Burma and Ceylon, where Hinayana prevails though Java and Sumatra are Muslim, Celebes (Sulabesi) Christain but Bali still a Brahmanical centre. Buddhism has mixed up with Tao and Confucious in China and with Shinto in Japan. But we must exclude from this

category a large number of Buddhists isolated from others, who maintain their own character not only in Japan but also in China and Korea. Also China and Mongolia came under Buddhist influence as early as the 1st century A. D. In Japan and Korea the Buddhist influence reached near about the 7th century A. D. Although the main cultural thrust was that of Buddhism, Japanese history reveals the worship of Brahmanical deities had also found their place and were venerated.

Buddha's Relevance in Modern world

Not even in dream Buddha had little thought of conventional weapons as they developed today and cruise missiles and Neutron bombs, and none in his time ever thought of arm control to ensure world peace. To Buddha the world was not as large as it is today. It was a microscopic earth he lived in and knew of as compared to the vast strech of territories called the earth which is the world of ours in 1978. But because he preached peace, between individuals and between neighbouring states, his teaching has a relevance in the present-day strife-ridden world. Therefore his teachings have acquired more and more receptivity and are sought for by statesmen and lovers of peace alike.

Lumbini and Kapilavastu

Nepal is proud of the Buddha as his birth place Lumbini lies within Nepalese territories at the present time. The place is a few miles inside the border a little far south of the mountain range in the plains of the Tarai. There is a pillar of polished stone set up by Asoka bearing an inscription which categorically says that the Buddha was born here. In view of this inscription there can be no doubt about Lumbini being the birth place of Buddha.

There are many more things to be written but this can not be done here. I also miss under similar considerations giving an account of the sites associated with Buddha's childhood. The identification of the town of Kapilavastu, the capital of the Sakyas is important. But politics has viciated the quest and there is likelihood of the proper site being controverted by silly argumentation. My mind goes to Tilaurakot for the fortified palace complex. But today it looks that there were two cities of kapilavastu, one for the Indians and another for the Nepalese, Piprahawa-Ganwaria for former and Tilaurakot for the latter. Some Indain scholours who helped in the excavation of the site changed their stand once they reverted to their lien in New Delhi, and wrote against there own conclusions, which is absurd. One of them has been impertinent to call P. C. Mukherjee as amateur. But we can not forget that he did a splendid job considering the situation in which he worked. Archaelogy was in its infancy in 1899 while he did his excavation, what more results could we expect of him knowing his limitations ? He visited the area only once and that also for two months in 1899. On the Nepalese side a few articles have appeared but heavily depending on P. c. Mukherjee's report of 1901, Which attitude I dislike. Our scholars have also relied on canonical texts and Chinese accounts , the former based on legends and tradition therefore not as reliable and the latter sometimes quite hazy, contradictory and inaccurate. But during the last three years the Nepalese archaeologists by themselves and with Japanese callaboration have done a good work. They claim to have dug out a palace and citadel complex. The discovery at piprahawa pale into insignificance compared to what has been found in Tilaurakot. I know that the two casket inscriptions and the stupa supposed to be of the 5th century B. C. are of little use for determining the issue of identification. After all you are trying to dig the ruins of a city, and all objects of the complex must be there. Again how can the same ruin of a house

appear just a simple dwelling structure at one time and a gigantic palace at another. But politics and scholarship are sometimes made to go together. In My opinion the minister of India and Nepal. One backing the claim of Piprahawa– Ganawaria and another that of Tilaurakot, have made confusion worse confounded and indirectly have curtailed freedom of scholars who are not yet involved in the affair. My own feelling in the discovery at Tilaurakot deserves examination by experts for the identification of Kapilavastu and I will not be surprised if Tilaurakot with the adjoining areas turns out to be the old Kapilavastu.

Extracted from the Everest weekly, published on the Occasion of 12th world Buddhist Conference. vol. 9, No. 27, 1st Oct. 1978.

SAKYAMUNI'S BIRTH-PLACE

Dr. B. C. Law, Ph. D; Litt; M. A; B. L.

Kapilavastu was the royal seat of the Sakyas. The royal city, four thousand *li* in circuit (*Watter,s on Yuan Chwang*, II, p. I) and surounded by seven walls (*Mahavastu*, II, p. 75), was the cradle of one who was the lion among the Sakya's, but who afterwards became the liberator of suffering humanity, the most perfect, the Enlightned, the Buddha. Suddhodana and his proud clan of the Sakyas are insparably connected with Kapilavastu. The Sakyas of Kapilavastu claimed their share of the bodily remains of the Buddha on the ground that they were of the ksatriya caste.

The territory of the Sakyas which lay to the north-east of the kingdom of Kosala was a principality built in the rugged fastness of the lower Himalayas. This principality was under the suzerainty of the king of Kosala. Kapilvastu, its principal city was connected by a high road, called southern road (*Dakkhinapatha*), with Pava, Kusinara, Vesali, and Rajagaha, on the one hand, and with Setavya, Savatthi, Saketa, and Kosambi, on the other (*Sutta-Nipata*, verses 1011-1013; Buddhist India, p. 103). The Nigrodharama is the most ancient known Buddhist retreat near Kapilavastu (R. C. Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist, p. 205, *Uposadhavadanam*).

There were other Sakya towns besides Kapilvastu, viz, Catuma, Samagama, Ulumpa, Devadaha, Sakkara, Silavati and Khomadussa, mention of which is made in Pali texts *(Cambridge History of India, I, p. 175)*. But none seems to have attained the eminence of Kapilvastu, which, being the royal city, was naturally the centre of social, political and educational life of the Sakyas.

According to the *Lalitavistara* (pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113, 123) Kapilvastu was a *Mahanagara* or a great city with a good number of gardens, avenues and market-places. There were four city gates and towers all over the city. The city is stated to have been immensely rich, an abode of the powerful, a home of learning and a resort of the virtuous. It was full of charities, festivals and congregations of powerful princes. It enjoyed a good strength of horses, elephants, and chariots *(Saundarananda Kavya, I)*. With arched gateways and pinnacles, it was surrounded by the beauty of a lofty tableland (*Buddhacarita*, I, *vs*. 2 and 5). In this city none but intelligent and qualified men were engaged as ministers (*Saundarananda Kavya*, I). As there was no imporper taxation, the city was full of people and poverty could not find any place there, where prosperity alone shone resplendeatly (*Buddhacarita I*; v. 4,). Between Devadaha, which was the stronghold of the Koliyas, a branch of the Sakyas, and Kapilavastu, which was the chief town of the Sakyas, stood the garden of Lumbini on the bank of the river Rohini. Fa Hien, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, who came to Kapilavastu saw that there was neither king nor people. All was mound and desolation. Of inhabitants there were only some monks and a few families of the common people. Fa Hien places the Lumbinivana fifty *li* (9 or 10 miles) east of Kapilavastu. The desolation of Kapilavastu is also attested to by Yuan Chwang who visited the place about three hundred years latter. Fa-Hien's account is short and inade-

quate, but Yuan Chwang's account is much more detailed and gives alonger list of the establishments of the city. Yuan Chwang saw the remains of 1000 Buddhist monasteries, deva temples, etc; at Kapilavastu (Watters, *on Yuan Chwang*, II p. I) The wellknown Rummindei pillar- inscription definitely locates the Lumbini garden which was fifty *li* east of the city according to Fa-Hien, and 80 or 90 *li* north-east of the arrow spring which itself was 32 *li* to the south-east of the city according to Yuan Chowang. This actually places the garden somewhere to the east of the city which is the direction given by Fa-Hien. Yuan Chwang also speaks of the stone-pillar set up by Asoka with the figure of a horse on the top; it is not unlikely that he referred to what we now know as the Rummindei pillar. Even before Yuan Chwang the Asoka pillar was broken at the middle, perhaps struck by lightning, as the pilgrims account suggests The Rummindei pillar was discovered by Dr. Furher in December, 1896 in exactly the same condition as Yuan Chwang saw it. P. C. Mukherjee in his *Antiquities in the Terai* (p. 35) states that its upper portion is gone and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped from, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists. This was perhaps due to the lightning strike that Yuan Chwang alludes to. There is further evidence of the identification of the Lumbinivana with the place where the Rummindei inscription was found. Yuan Chwang mentions that near the Asokan Pillar was " a small stream flowing south-east and called by the people the Oil River" *(Watters, op. cit; II, p. 15)* The tradition survives even to-day, and this river is now called *Tilar-nade* which is a corruption of Telirnadi or the *teli*'s or oilman's river. There is a temple at Rummindei, comparatively of a latter date, which houses a sculptured slab representing the nativity of the Buddha, which is a

further proof of the identity of the place with Lumbinivana.

The Rummindei inscription states that when King Asoka was anointed twenty years he came himself and worshipped this spot because the Buddha was born here. He erected a stone-pillar crowned with a horse (?) to mark the site of Buddha's birth. He made the village of Lumbini free of taxes and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce) (*Gorpus Inscriptionum*, Indicarum, *iii, pp.264-65).*

Another important epigraphic record, evidently connected with kapilvastu, is the Nigali Sagar pillar inscription of Asoka which purporbs to state that when the king had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the stupa of Kanakamuni to double its original size, and when he had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped this spot and caused a stone pillar to be set up. Only two broken portions of the pillar are preserved.

The most definite starting point towards the identification of Kapilvastu is certainly the Rummindei pillar inscription which locates the Lumbinivana, about 10 miles from Kapilvastu.

About the distance and direction of Kapilavastu from Sravasti, Yuan Chwang states that he had to travel south - east from the latter place for above 500 *li* (about 10 miles, according to Fa-Hien, 12 yojanas) before he came to the kingdom of Kapilavastu.

Courtesy: THE MAHA BODHI

Journal of the Mahabodhi society

(2491 B. E. - C. E.1947 Vaishakha Number
May-June Vol. 55 - Nos. 5-6 Page 67)

Kapilavastu Conundrum

By: A. D. T. E. PERERA

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Kapilavastu is the name of the Kingdom of the Sakyas, the royal clan to which prince Siddhartha, the Buddha to be was born. Kapilavastu became a household name among the Buddhists since it was the city with which Prince Siddhartha was associated for nearly 29 years.

The Kingdom took the name from the Capital city which was said to have been founded by the sons of Okkaka (Skt. Iksvaku), on the site of the hermitage of the sage Kapila, within close range of the Himalayas. The Lumbini pleasance where the Buddha was born was near the city Kapilavastu. The adjoining territory of the Koliyas, a clan related to Sakya swas seperated by the river Rohini. It is likely that the Kingdom Kapila-

vastu formed one of the confederated Republics in north India in the sixth century B. C. King Suddhodana, the father of the Buddha was the head of this Republican state of Sakyas and Koliyas. The principal Mote Hall (Santhagharasala) of the city formed the centre for administrative and judical functions of the city. The walls of the city ware eighteen cubits high.

In one of his visits to Kapilavastu the Buddha was successful from preventing a confrontation between the Sakyas and Koliyas, both his kinsman, over the question of their sharing the water of river Rohini, another visit of note was that paid by the Buddha when Vidudhabha the ruler of Kosala chagrimed by the insult of the Sakyas invaded Kapilavastu in order to take his revenge. Three times the Buddha interferred and prevented Vidhudhabha from massacering the Sakyas, but the fourth time the Buddha seeing the fate of the Sakyas did not interfere.

From Kapilavastu lay a direct road to Vesali and through Kapilavastu passed the road taken by Bavari's disciple from Alaka to Savathi. After the Buddha's death a portion of the relics was claimed by the Sakyas of Kapilavastu and a shrine to hold them was erected in Kapilavastu.

Kapilavastu has been visited by several distinguished men in the past who have kept records of their visit to this holy places. Of them the most significant were Emperor Asoka and the two Chinese itinerary monks, Fa-Hsien and Hsuen-Tsang.

In the semi-historical work '*Lalitavistara*' the visits of Asoka Raja to sites like Lumbini, Gaya, Kapilavastu etc; associated with Gautama Buddha's ministry have been mentioned. These statements have been authenticated further by the Chinese itineraries and also by the presence of lithic pillars installed by Emperor Asoka himself at these sites to mark his visits.

But with the passage of time the exact location of Kapilavastu was lost track of and especially after the mediaeval periods these ancient Buddhist sites in northern India were allowed to be covered by jungle terrain when the seats of administration in that part of the sub-continent were dismantled after Muslim conquests. It was only in the last quarter of the previous century that attempts have been made especially by historians and antiquaries to rediscover these sites goes to the archaeologists. Although related sites like Lumbini, Buddhagaya, Rajagrha, Savatthi were rediscovered without making such allowance from doubt the location of the site of Kapilavastu has been problamatic to the antiquary on account of the dearth of archaeological data.

At the end of the previous century (1898) there were certain attempts made by scholars like Vincent Smith, Mukherjee, Rhys Davids etc; towards identifying the lost city Kapilavastu on the discovery of artifacts and archaeological remains that are not however directly dealing with the Kapilavastu site. The discovery of inscription on Relic caskets and Asoka pillars referring to sites associated with Kapilavastu enabled the scholars to narrow their area of search for this lost city within a specific territory.

But within this area too which covers nearly several hundred miles in circumferance, the exact siting of an ancient city that wojld equate with the description given in texts of Kapilavastu, has been most problamatic to scholars. This is the region centering Lumbini in the Nepalese and the northp Indian terrain in a modern map.

The discovery of the Asoka pillar in-situ at Rummindei in the Nepalese territory has proved beyond doubt that the

Buddha's birth place Lumbini was at Rummindei. The discovery of a relic casket at Piprahava close to Rummindei, but in the Indian territory, from a ruined stupa, with an inscription on the lid of the casket referring to the Sacred Corporeal remains of Sakyamuni Buddha, enabled the scholars to locate the *Nirvana* stupa of the Sakyamuni Buddha erected by his Kinsmen the Sakyas, but still the exact location of the city of the Sakyas proved problamatic.

The city of Kapilavastu has been visited by Fa-Hsien (5th century) and Hsuen - Tsang (7th century) the two Chinese monks who included sacred Buddhist sites in India in their itinerary. They have also kept records of the site Kapilavastu as seen by them.

If not for a few descripancies in their description of the distance of the Kapilavastu city from other close by sites, both these travellers agree with each other in regard to the general description of the Kapilavastu city and the terrain travelled by them within the Kingdom of Kapilavastu.

Depending on the few descrepancies some scholars have tried to locate two places as the possible site of the lost city Kapilavastu. The controversy was seemingly begun by Vincent Smith and followed up by Rhys Davids who believed that the two Chinese monks have been shown by their Indian guides two different sites as that of Kapilavastu. Their belief was based primarily on the difference in the distance each traveller gives from Kapilavastu to the Lumbini garden.

Fa-Hsien - places 50 *li* west of Lumbini while Hsuen-Tsang having terried at Sarakupa (arrow-will) which is 30 *li* south-east Kapilavastu, proceeds towards Lumbini which is

80 to 90 *li* north east from Sarakupa, V. A. smith observes this fact as follows "Hsuen-Tsang states that the Lumbini garden was 80 to 90 *li* or about 16 miles in a north easterly direction from the arrow well, which was 30 *li* south, east from Kapilavastu. The necessary inference is that his Kapilavastu lay some 15 or 16 miles in a westerly direction from our fixed point the Lumbini garden.

Fa-Hsien though mentioning that the Arrow-well was 30 *li* south-east, of Kapilavastu does not take bearings from the well. He travelled through the town of Konagamana some five miles eastwards to kapilavastu and thence 50 *li* or some 9 miles eastward to the fixed point the Lumbini garden".

(P. C. Mukerjee, *A Report on a tour of exploration of the antiquities of Kapilavastu Tarai of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1901, reprinted Delhi 1969, prefactory note by V. A. Smith, pp. 8-9)

Smith further continues - "Let the reader now take apair of compasses with Rummindei as a centre and describe to the west an arc with 9 miles for (50 *li*) radius. That arc will cut the group of ruins near Piprahava and will not intersect any other ruins, Prima-facie. therefore Piprahava is the Kapilavastu of Fa-Hsien ---- If the reader again takes up the compasses and in accordance with Hsuen-Tsang's indication, describes an arc on the map of 14 miles radius (- 15 or 16 by road) he will find that the arc cuts through Tilaurakot which is the central part of a great mass of ruins extending for miles. Prima-facie, then, the Tilaura-Kot group of ruins is the Kapilavastu of Hsuen-Tsang (op. cit. p. 10, Prefatory note).

On this hypothetical rendering of Vincent Smith, followed by few other scholars, some antiquires thought there were two Kapilavastu cities. One the ancient and the original one and

the other, the latter one founded after the first Kapilavastu was destroyed by Vidhudhabha the son of king Prasenjit of Kosala.

This belief of the existance of two Kapilavastu cities is much unteneble because if not for the few discerapancies, the two descriptions of Kapilavastu as recorded by Fa-Hsien and Hsuen-Tsang tally well with each other.

According to both pilgrims, Kapilavastu lies very much equidistant from Savatthi, the ancient capital of Kosala. That if Fa-Hsien had travelled about 13 Yojanas south-east from Savatthi to reach Kapilavastu while Hsuen-Tsang has covered 500 *li* south-east from Savatthi to Kapilavastu (S. Beal, *Chinese accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1957, Reprinted Vol. I pp. 29 and Vol. 3 pp. 268 ff.)

Both the pilgrims have visited important places within Kapilavastu and the descriptions given by them of these sites too are not very much different fron each other. These sites of importance are the stupa - sites of the previous Buddhas Kakusanda and Konagamana, the site of the Sarakupa, or (arrow well) the stupas erected to commemorate the Sakya princes massacred by Vidhudhabha, the temple of the primary deity of the Sakya clan, the place where Mahaprajapatigotami offered the Buddha worthy *civara* etc. Hence it is very unlikely that the city visited by Hsuen-Tsang in the 7th century is different from that visited by Fa-Hsien in the 5th century.

An attempt to locate the lost city Kapilavastu was undertaken by the archaeologist P. C. Mukerjee on the Instructions of V. A. Smith in the year 1899 and the published report of this investigation convinces any student of archaeology or history that Mukerjee has made a very through and

dispassionate investigation into available facts and archaeological data before arriving at his conclusion that Kapilavastu lies about 14 to 15 miles due North-west of Lumbini, covering the area presently occupied by such townships like Tilaurakot, Sri Nagar, Niglihava, Bikuli, Sagarwa, Citradei and adjoining the river Banganga in the Terai district of Nepal.

However the discovery of the inscribed relic-casket at Piprahava referring to the sacred Corporeal Relics of the Blessed One Sakyamuni Buddha snterred by his Sakya Kinsmen, headed by one Chieftan named Sukiti, to ... ... "Iyam Salila Nidhane Budasa Bhagavati, Sakiyanam Sukiti Batinam Sabhaginikanam, Saputadalanam," has been taken up by some scholars as a positive claim to identify the very site where this relic casket was founded enshrined in a stupa, as the location of the lost city Kapilavastu.

strangely enough recent investigations undertaken by some Indian archaeologists at this site with the primary intention of locating Kapilavastu at Piprahava have yielded some good results. They have discovered within closely ruined structures, believed to be a monastic complex some inscriptions referring to the Bhikkhu order of Kapilavastu - the legend was found inscribed on Terra-cotta sealings and a pot sherd, one of them reads "Om Devaputra Vihare Kapilavastu Bhikkhu Sanghas" and another "Maha Kapilavastu Bhikkhu Sanghas" (see K. M. Srivastava, Kapilavastu in Basti District UP (Nagpur), 1978.-3 pl. V A 2 B)

Depending primarily on these inscriptional evidence, the archaeologists who excavated a new the piprahava stupa site in recent times (between 1971-1973) have come to the conclusion that Piprahava is undoubtedly the lost city Kapilavastu.

Howeverthe w y the recent archaeologists have described their method ofp rogressing excavation with the intention of identifying Kapilavastu at Piprahava does not conform very much to scientific archaeological research. To quote the very words of the archaeologist, "though the caskets were considered to be a substantial evidence to prove the location of Kapilavastu the final stamp needed an inscriptional evidence. Excavation was therefore resumed in 1973 with the primary objective of finding inscriptions with the legend Kapilavastu. The crucial moment came when the excavation in the majestic eastern monestery was in progress. Terra-cotta sealings more than thirty in number, were collected from a depth ranging between 1.05 to 1.75 meters" (K. M. Srivastava, op. cit p. 3). The above description appears as if the archaeologists have derived through premonition that they would strike upon objects bearing inscriptions to substantiate their thesis. Hence much credence could not be given to such discoveries unless they are subjected to a through scientific analysis to determine their antiquity because enthusiasm has led to the manufacture of fakes by unscrupulous people at other places of archaeological excavation (e. g. one such instance is the casket contaning Sacred Corporeal Relics of Sariputta and Mahamogglhane with an early Brahmi Script inscription supposed to have been discovered at a place known as Buddhaangala, in South Sri Lanka, (see A. D. T. E. Perera two recently excavated archaeological discoveries in Sri Lanka facts or fakes, its Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, Colombo, 19th December 1972, p. 5).

Despite these claims of the Indian archaeologists, headed by K. M. Srivastava, the Superintending archaeologists who conducted excavations at Piprahava, the Indian authorities themselves are still hesitant to give credance to the location of Kapilavastu at Piprahava. It is recorded in a recognised Indian

Journal – "The probe is on and yet the claim for recognition of the ancient township of Tilaurakot in Taulihava district of Nepal, excavated by P. C. Mukerjee in 1899, Dr. Mrs. Debala Mitra of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1961, and the Dept. of Archaeology of the Government of Nepal, from 1966 onwards csntinues to be accepted (*Indian and Foreign Review*, Vol. 13 No: 23, 15th September 1976, p. 19).

It has now more or less, become a tug-a-war between Nepalies Indian archaeologist to locate the city, Kapilavastu within their respective territories.

The best claim for the Indian archaeologists who excavated recently at Peprahava is the discovery of terracotta seals and the lid of a clay pot with the inscribed legends mentioned above referring to the fraternity of Kapilavastu cremites. This alone however will not be sufficient because similar inscriptional references to monks of other fraternities have been discovered at places far away from their place of origin e. g. the reference to the brotherhood of Sinhala monks – Sihalagane – in such distant places like Buddhagaya, Nagarjunikonda, Burma, Siam and even in the Ratukaka plateau in Java. Therefore the epigraphic reference to the presence of Kapilavastu monks in a monastic establishment however ancient it may be, alone would not be taken for granted as conclusive evidence for the identification of that particular place with the Kapilavastu city.

The fact that the original Kapilavastu city was destroyed by Vidhudhabha alone is adequate to believe that the Sakyas have been scattered within their own Kingdom during the very day of the Buddha and their later strongholds were founded not necessarily on the very place razed to the ground by a ruthless enemy.

On such grounds Piprahava could be better identified as the site selected by later Sakyas as a more suitable place within their Kingdom to found a shrine to commemorate their great Kinsman the Buddha.

Furthermore some of the arguments put forward by the recent archaeologist who were keen on identifying Piprahava with Kapilavastu are far too shallow and even erroneous. This could be best examplified by the misrepresentation of facts invalving a great authority the late V. A. Smith who pioneered in the quest for Kapilavastu.

To the inquiry as to why the two Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hsien and Hsuen-Tsang who have recorded every detail of the city of Kapilavastu were silent in regard to a stupa that has been founded to enshrine the sacred Relics of the Buddha given over to his kinsman Sakyas – the scholar who wished to identify Piprahava with Kapilavastu, namely K. M. Srivastava makes a very drastic statement which is far from the truth - "The question No.: 22, the Chinese travellers are silent on the Nirvana Stupa, answer No. : 22 – they are, not silent on the Nirvana stupa. Hsuen – Tsang gives the position of Nirvana stupa in relation to the town of Kapilavastu. Further, their silence, if at all, is not going to help in identifying Tilaurakot as Kapilavastu". (K. M. Srivastava op cit p. 11).

This seems that the recent investigation who is keen on identifying Piprahava with Kapilavastu has rushed into conclusions without being careful to check facts.

It is correct to say that none of the two Chinese pilgrim monks has made any reference to the Nirvana stupa at Kapilavastu. Had there been a monument of such significance surely

they would not have hesitated to document it in their itineraries. This fact requires no better justification than the observation of the great authority Vincent Smith who puts it thus - "It is very odd as Mr. Watters has observed, that noither of the Chinese pilgrims makes the least allusion to the stupa erected by the Sakyas of Kapilavastu over the cremation relices of Gautama. Even Fa-Hsien who was taught to regard Piprahava as Kapilavastu was not shown this important monument. I cannot offer any plausible expalantion of the commission which is the more strange because Fa-Hsien in his account of Kusinagara alludes to the legend of the division of the relics" (P. C. Mukerjee op. cit, prefactory note p. 17).

The positive evidence enable to locate the shrine built by the Sakyas to enshrine their protion of Buddha relics at Piprahava, and the discovery of terracotta sealings with the legend referring to Kapilavastu brotherhoold of monks need not necessarily be taken as substantial grounds to argue for the siting of Kapilavastu at Piprahava.

It is reasonable to conjecture that the Sakya Kingdom had covered a large territory and the post-Vidkudhabha Sakyas have preferred to build their monument to commemorate their great kinsman not within a destroyed city but in a better and a safer place within the Sakya territory. Hence it is not difficult to locate Piprahava as the site selected for this purpose by the later Sakyas.

Thus it could be seen that the identification of Kapilavastu with Piprahava stands on weak grounds and the attention of the antiquary is again focussed on other possible sites. Of all the other possible sites the one that had been investigated by Mukerjee bears enough testimony to be linked with the lost

city Kapilavastu. Hence a fresh investigation of Mukerjee's finds needs attention of all those interested in identifying the location of Kapilavastu. Mukerjee's tentative identification of Tilaurakot and its periphery as the city of Suddhodhana the father of the Buddha has been disputed by those who rushed to shift the location from Nepal to India (at Piprahava) In their haste they have done lot of unjustice to the painstaking efforts of their predecessors. Despite the fact that innumerable archaeological and other evidence were marshalled by Mukerjee to substantiate his thesis, these recent archaeologists who worked at Piprahava were far from truth in their remark. "It has already been stated that the excavations at Tilaurakot have not yielded a single tangible evidence so far to establish the identify with Kapilavastu" (K. M. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 12, answer to question 32).

Mukerjee in addition to his judicious desplay of scholarly arguments based on historical and literary date has also brought to light innumerable archaeological material from Tilaurakot and its surroundings before substantiating his thesis for the identification of Kapilavastu at this site.

The ruins at Taulihava where at the time of his exploration situated the great Taulishvara Mahadeva temple has been identified by him as the possible site of the pre-Buddhist chaitya which was the hollowed fane of the Sakyas. It was at this shrine that the infant Siddhartha was brought and presented before the good on the way from Lumbini to Kapilavastu. This shrine has been visited by Fa-Hsien and Hsuen-Tsang and ancient texts too refer to it. A marble plaque at Amaravati too illustrates this shrine of the genius Sakyavardhana (see P. C. Mukerjee op. cit. p. 18f; see also D. Barret, *Sculptures from Amaravate in the British Museum*, London 1954 pl. VII, A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yaksàs Vol. I pl. 20).

At the time of Mukerjee's investigations it has been converted to a fane of the God Mahadeva.

At Tilaurakot extensive city walls in ruins have been unearthed by Mukerjee which the remains of an ancient fortication (op. cit p. 19f.) close by to the modern temple of *Samai Mai*. Mukerjee has unearthed several extensive layers of early occupation which he was prefered to call the palace site (op. cit p. 20). Several structures including the possible stupa site of the sage *Asita*, referr d to by the Chinese pilgrims too have been unearthed by Mukerjee. Remains of large buildings and stupas are spread all over in this locality according to Mukerjee's excavations (see op. cit. p. 21, plates III, IV).

Further remains were unearthed by him on the other side of the river (*Banganga* which flows close to Tilaurakot and which has been identified by him as the same river referred to in ancient texts by the name *Bhagirathi* which was associated with the city Kapilavastu. This part on the opposite bank, known as *Citra Dei* too has yielded innumerable archaeological remains including a beautiful brick-built plinth which has once formed part of a great shrine (op. cit, pp. 23-24 and plates V, VI, VII Fig. I)

At the site known as Sagarhava about two miles north of Tilaurakot, Mukerjee has unearthed some valuable stupa remains including relic caskets (op. cit. pp 25, 28 and plates VIII, IX, X, XI, XI a, XII, XII a, XIII) Mukerjee laments that much damage and destruction have been done to these objects and sites of archaeological importance by his predecessor Dr. Fuhrer, who was responsible for much unscientific excavation of archaeological sites before Mukerjee took up, but he was however removed from office after a forgery by him was discovered referring to a stupa at Niglihava.

The most valuable archaeological discovery here at Sagarhava, since the remains of several small stupas numbering as much as seventeen which have yeilded (several objects including relic caskets. The general opinion of the archaeologists is that these Sagarhava stupa represent the site where the remains of the Sakya chieftans massacred by Vidhudhabha were enshrined. The layer on which the relic caskets were buried was covered with bricks on which were incised the figures of weapons with a central brick which has a figure of a eight petalled flower.

This site corresponds well with the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsang's location of the place of messacre or battle field lying several *li* north - west of the city (a *Beal Chinese accounts of India*, Indian edition, Calcutta, 1958, Vol. 3 p. 273, see also Mukerjee, op. cit p. 28). The marking of weapons like battle axes, spear - heads, bows, swords on the bricks that cover the reliquary of these stupas may have been necessitated to indicate that the stupas were built to commemorate the warriors who died in the battle. The flower design on the middle brick may even represent the clan "Sakyas" which name has been derived according to some legends from the Saka three (See Mukerjee, op. cit p. 6, see also plates XI, XI 1, XII, XII a, XIII).

It is most unjustifiable for the recent archaeologists to have pronounced that Tilaurakot has not yeilded a single tangible evidence so far to establish the identity with Kapilavastu, despite so much archaeological evidence that have been brought to light through scientific excavations by the earlier archaeologists.

Another site of importance associated with Tilaurakot of Nepal is the Nigali village about a mile and half east of

Sagarhava. It was here that the archaeologists have discovered the famous Asokan lithic column referred to as the Niglihava pillar bearing an inscription which accounts for the presence of Konagamana (Viz. Kanakmuni) Buddha's stupa there. Both Mukerjee and V. A. Smith and even later scholars believe that this pillar was not in situ at the time of discovery. But they all admit that such a Titanie lithic block could not have been removed hundred of miles away from its original site. Hence Vincent Smith tries to locate its original situation either at Sisania or Palta- Devi the two sites which were a few miles away from Tilaurakot (See Mukerjee op. cit. prefactory note p. 13) but Mukerjee's placing of the original site of Konagamana Buddha's stupa in the village Araurakot, closely to Niglihava is more justifiable (op. cit. p. 56).

This same pillar also bears Tibetan inscriptions which prove the visit of (the western Malla King Sri Ripu Malla, to the site of Kapilavastu on pilgrimage in 1234 corresponding to 1312 A. D.). (But see K. M. Srivastava, op. cit. p. 14, and answer to question No: 40 – the fact that King Ripu Malla of Nag dynasty who ruled over one of the two states which flourished from the eleventh to the fifteenth century in the Karnali region of Nepal with the present village of Dullu as his capital visited Lumbini and Niglihava in the year 1312, proves that up to that time Kapilavastu was a well known place of pilgrimage and retained its glory – Answer. The above statement does not make a mention of Kapilavastu. In what way Ripu Malla's visit to Lumbini and Niglihava is connected with Kapilavastu is not intelligible.)

The argument of K. M. Srivastava in desputing the visit of Ripu Malla to Kapilavastu is extremely weak. If the Niglihava pillar indicates beyond any doubt that is was the one

erected by Emperor Asoka to commemorate his visit to the site of Konagamana Buddha's stupa, which is in close proximity to Kapilavastu, the inscription of Ripu Malla on the same pillar in the 14th century A. D. proves that he too has visited the same site and that even in the 14th century the Malla Kings of Nepal considered that the site of the Niglihava pillar within Kapilavastu was worthy enough for a pilgrimage.

At the place called Gotihava four miles south west of Tilaurakot, too, remains of a large brick stupa and fragments of an Asoka pillar were found. Discoveries within the core of the stupa includes a large number of bones which did not appear to have belonged to man (P. C. Mukerjee, op. cit. p. 32, 55). Mukerjee identifies this site as that of Kakusanda (Vsan: Krakuchhanda) Buddhist's stupa mentioned by Chinese-pilgrims (Hsuen-Tsang – 50 *li* to the south of Kapilavastu, Fa-Hsien – one Yojane to the south of Konagamana's stupa) and also supposed to have been a site visited by Asoka who had erected a lithic pillar to commemorate his visit there. (S. Beam, op. cit. Vol. 3, p. 272, and Vol. I p. 29).

Mukerjee says – in regard to the finds at Gotihava, "The pillar might attest the Nirvana stupa of Krakuchhanda which I traced and major Waddel dug and found a large number of bones, consisting of teeth, thigh bones, etc; They appeared as belonging more to boasts than to men, and it seems very possible that, when long after the death of the Saint, the Buddhalore degenerated into legends, and fables grew into myths, some Bhikshus long before the visit of the Chinese Pilgrims, committed as they say "pious frauds," by burrying some bones of cattle and extolling them as "Saririkas" of Krakuchhanda and built a stupa over them" (P. C. Mukerjee, op. cit p. 55).

After Gotihava other sites like Lori Kudan, Sisania, in the Nepalese Tarai region have been excavated by Mukerjee with valuable results.

After completing a through investigation of the possible sites for the location of Kapilavastu, Mukerjee sums up his observations (op cit., Chapt. VI, pp 48 - 58) and comes to the conclusion with reasonable arguments that Tilaurakot is the most suitable site that could be identified with Kapilavastu.

His observations has been followed for more than seven decades by almost all antiquaries and historians in locating Kapilavastu at Tilaurakot until the recent attempts by the Indian archaeologists headed by K. M. Srivastava attracted the attention of the scholars to Piprahava by his discoveries of clay tablets with the inscription Kapilavastu.

Judging by the available archaeological material it is more justificable to locate the city Kapilavastu at Tilaurakot than at Piprahava (S. V.) Mukerjee comments, after a detailed analysis of his discoveries - It could thus be seen that no other ancient site has so much claim on the identification of Kipilavastu as Tilaura as being situated in the right position and fulfilling all other conditions". We are constrained to add that as far as the available archaeological material and literary evidence are converned it would be safor to identify Tilaurakot in Nepal as the main citadel Kapilavastu. The other site Piprahva with its ancient stupa enshrining the secred Sarinkas of the Buddha Gautama, in India could be the location chosen by the fallen Sakyas as a suitable and safe place to erect a monument to perpetuate the memory of their great kinsmen Sakyamuni Gautama the Buddha within near Kingdom.

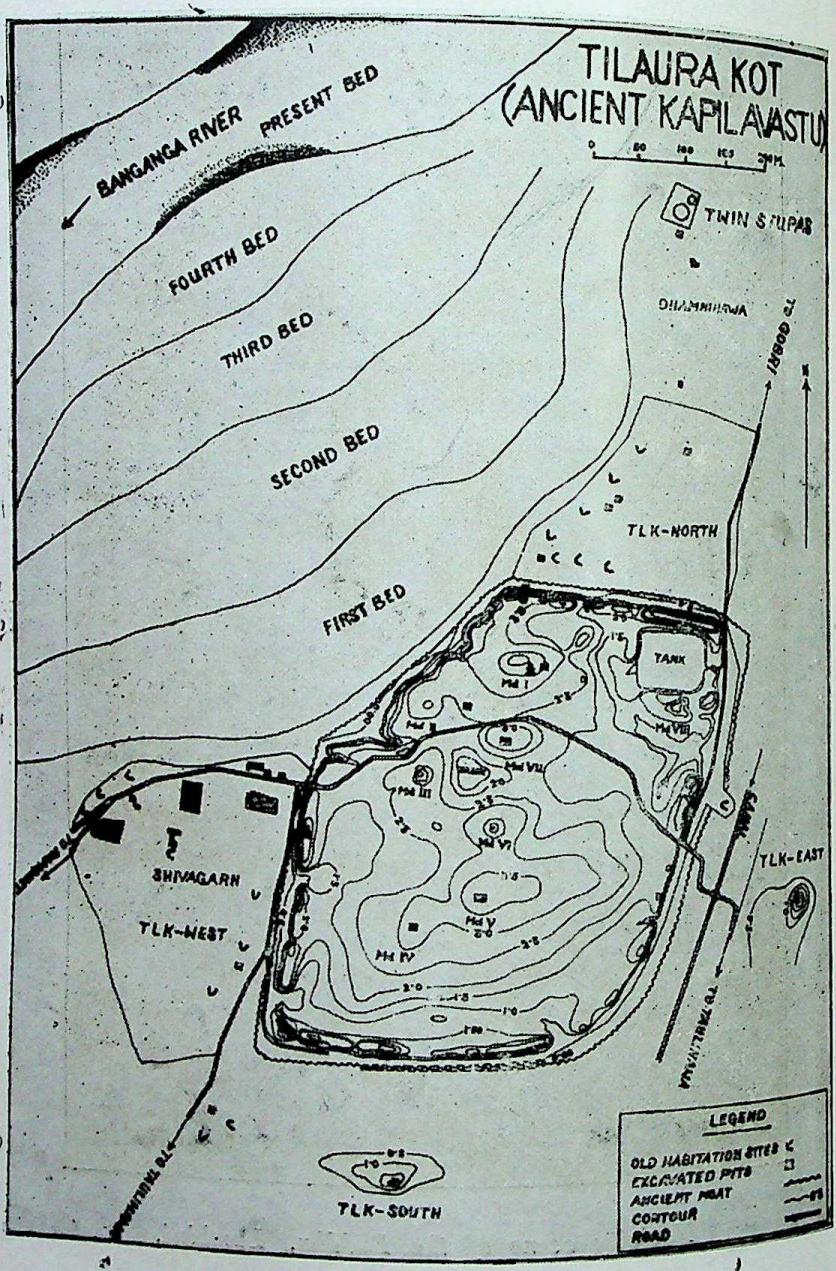
The terracotta seals discovered at Piprahava do not prove anything other than that this was an important monastic complex within the Kingdom of Kapilavastu, occupied by the monks of Kapilavastu fraternity.

More recent diggings at Tilaurakot have yielded ancient remains and object of archaeological value that could belong to early centuries before the present era. (see, *Tilaurakot, the ancient city of Kapilavastu*, Buddha Jayanthi Celebration Committee Govt. of Nepal, publication).

Foot Notes

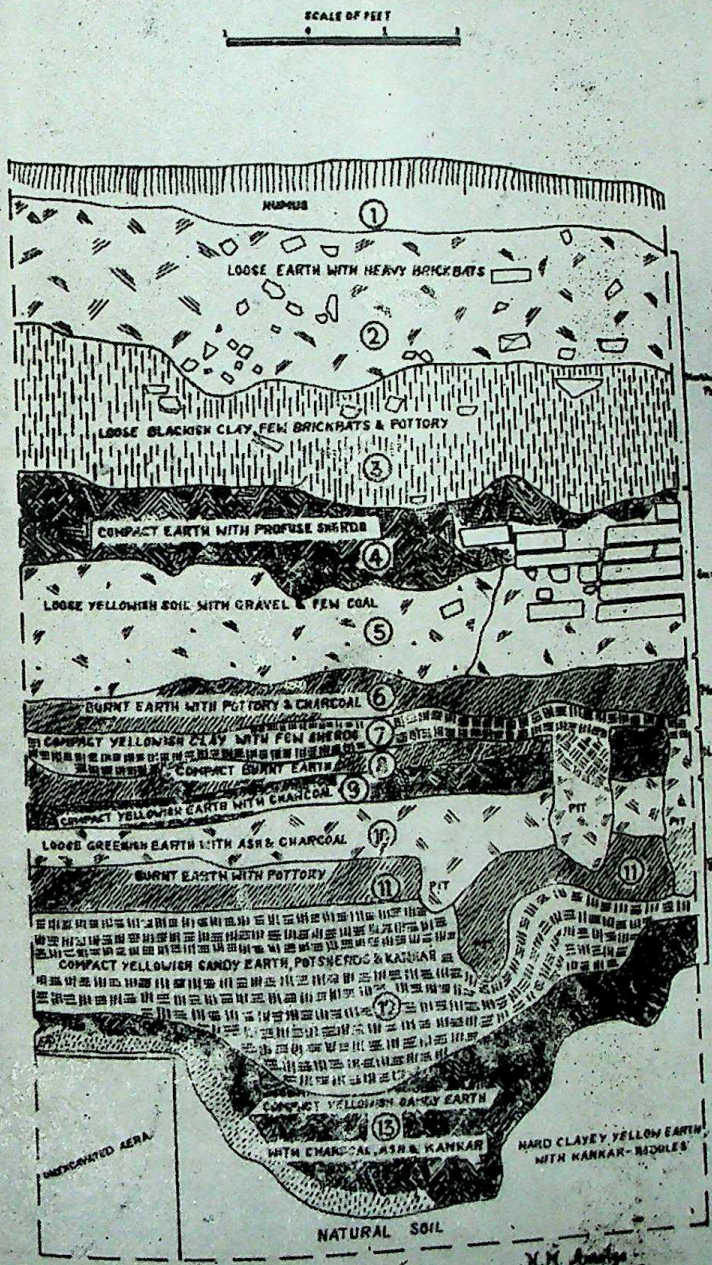
1. It is not justifiable to believe that Fa-Hsien was taught to regard Piprahava as Kapilavastu on the more surmise that the distance between Lumbini and Kapilavastu as given by this pilgrim tallies with the distance between Piprahava and Rumminadei, because the conversion of Chinese "*li*" or Yojana into present measurements given by a traveller who had to cover a distance infested with jungle and other hardship could fall short of exactness.

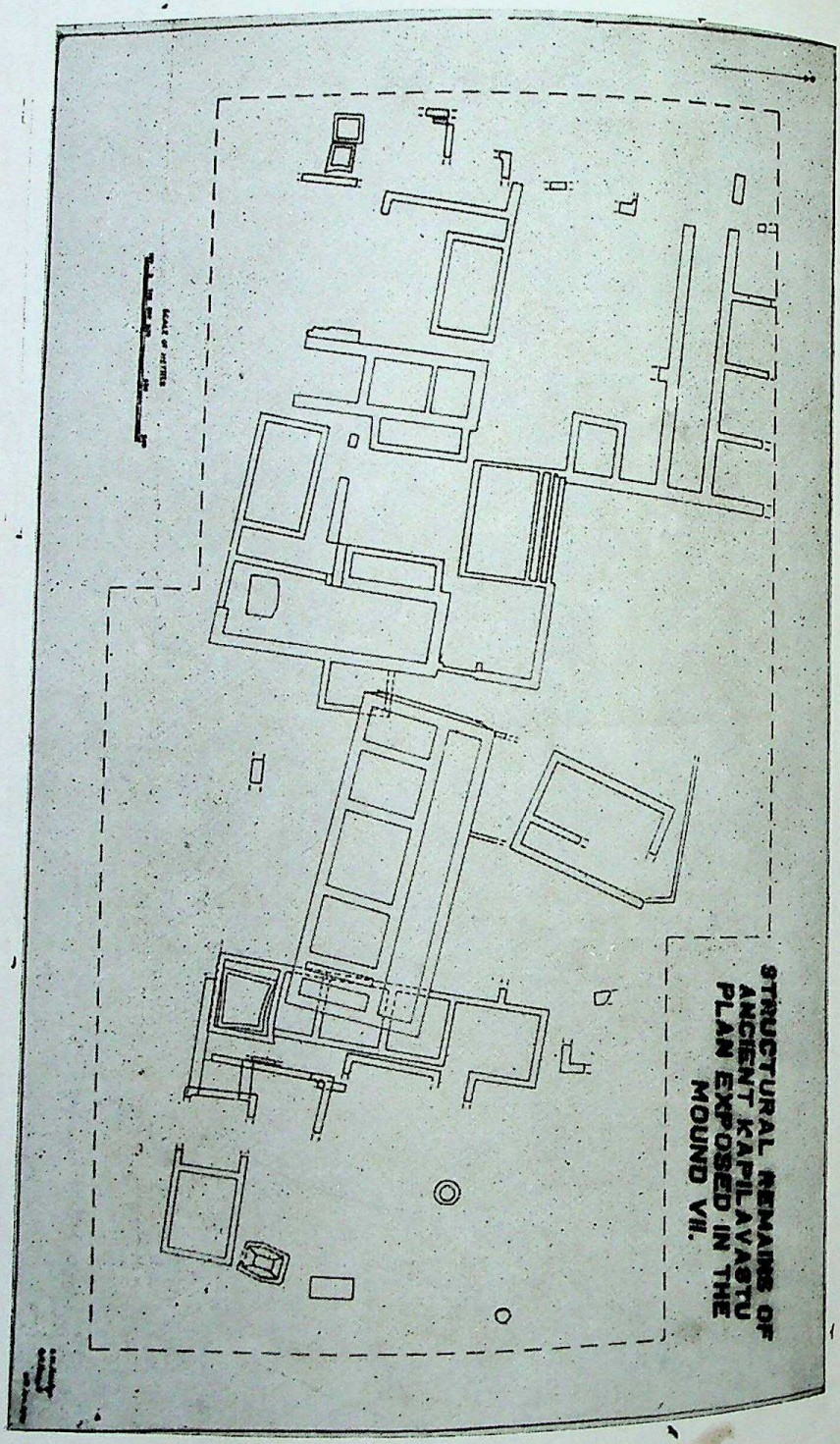
Nativity scene of the Buddha, Lumbini.



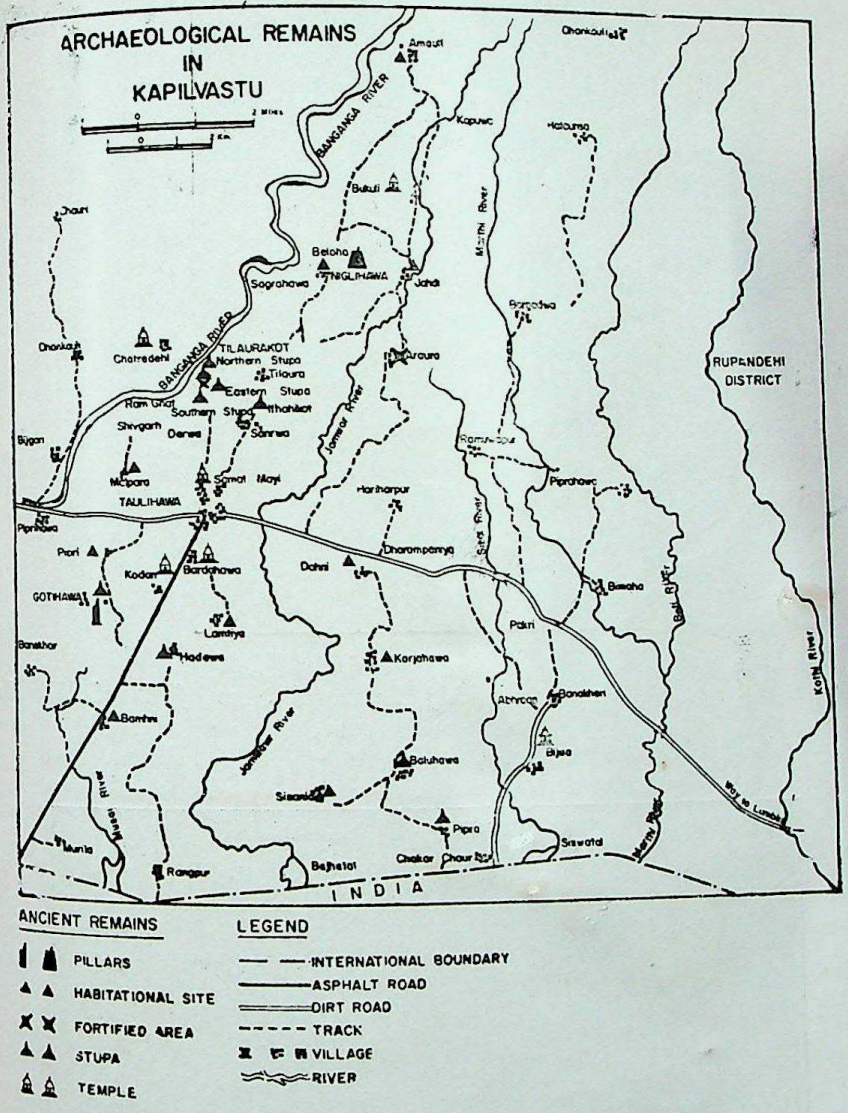
The location of the Royal Precinct.

SEQUENCE OF CULTURE IN ANCIENT KAPILAVASTU T.L.K.MD.V. SECTION FACING EAST.



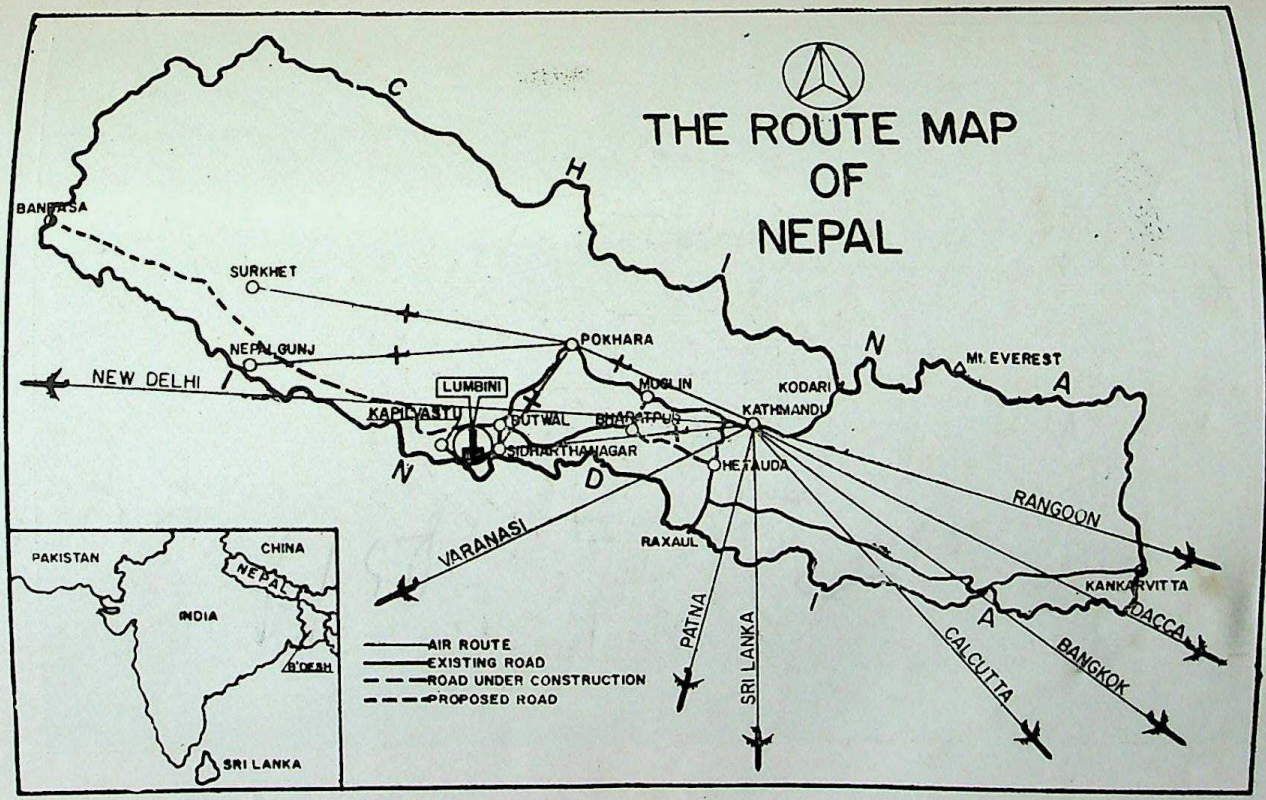


Salient feature of the architecture in Kapilavastu.

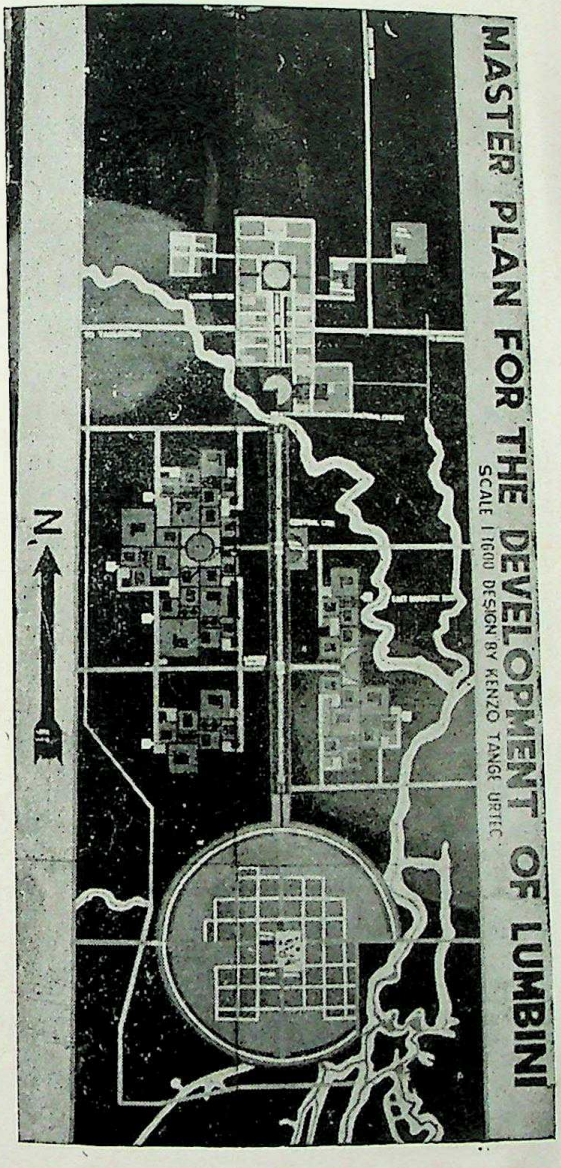


Archaeological remains around Tilaurakot
(As explored by B. K. Rijal in 1972)

Plate No. VIII



Master Plan For the Development of Lumbini



HMG/Nepal.
THE LUMBINI DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
Babar Mahal
Kathmandu 7101
Nepal.

Printed at :- Subhash Printing Press Lalitpur, Nepal. ☎ 21191

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Die Kharoṣṭī-Inschriften aus Gilgit

(Referat, gehalten beim XXI. Deutschen Orientalistentag, Berlin (West), 23. März 1980)

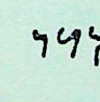
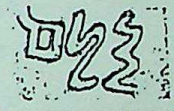
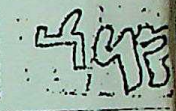
Unter dem Titel 'Inscriptions de Gilgit' veröffentlichte der Indologe G.FUSSMAN in BEFEO 65 (1978), p. 1-64, pl. I-XXXII, eine Anzahl von kleineren indischen Felsinschriften in Brāhmī und Kharoṣṭī, welche der Ethnologe P.SNOY in der Nähe der Alam Bridge am Zusammenfluß des Gilgitflusses und des Indus entdeckt hatte.

Die Brāhmī-Inschriften wurden von mir in meinem Referat zum IV. Internationalen Sanskrit-Kongreß zu Weimar anhand einiger Beispiele besprochen und schließlich vollständig und ausführlich in meinem Beitrag zur Festschrift Paul Thieme in StII 5/6 (1980, p. 99-121) behandelt. Sorgfältige Bearbeitung der zur Verfügung stehenden Abbildungen ergab, daß nahezu sämtliche vom Herausgeber vorgeschlagenen Lesungen einer oft recht tiefgreifenden Berichtigung bedürfen.

Die Kharoṣṭī-Inschriften in FUSSMANs Material sind weniger zahlreich und ihre photographische Wiedergabe ist teilweise besonders unbefriedigend. Nichtsdestoweniger lassen sich bei entsprechender Sorgfalt auch hier manche Verwunderlichkeiten der Lesungen des Herausgebers eliminieren. So läßt sich einerseits unsere Kenntnis des regionalen Prakrit erweitern, und andererseits ergibt sich eine klarere Beurteilung der in den Inschriften auftretenden Personennamen, deren irrige Lesung zu der Auffassung führen konnte, wir hätten es hier weithin mit vor- bzw. nichtindischem Material zu tun.

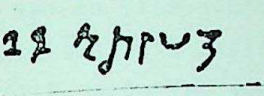
Im Hinblick auf die Kenntnis des Prakrit ist wohl jenes Wort am interessantesten, das der Herausgeber *satradu/sabradu* (Nr. 5,7), *sab[r]ad[i]*(6,11), *sabradi* (8), *sabradu* (10,3), *sabare* (10,9) liest, aus skr. *samprati* herleitet und durch

'en ce moment' übersetzt. Wie ich schon in StII 5/6 vorweg gezeigt habe, ist das stets am Satzende stehende Wort ein Verbum. Es ist niemals mit innerem *d* und schließendem *i* zu lesen, sondern immer mit innerem *t* und schließendem *u*, *e* oder *a*. Also *sabratu* (5,7), *sabata* (6,11), *sabratu* (8), *sabratu/srabratu* (10,3), *sabate* (10,9). Der Stamm ist mit geminiertem *tt* als *sabratta-* anzusetzen. Gemeinsam mit dem von mir in den Brāhmī-Belegen Nr. 9 und Nr. 11 nachgewiesenen hybr.skt. *sabrāta-* geht er auf kl.skr. *saṃprāpta-* 'eingetroffen' zurück. Sein Nom.Sg. wird mehr oder weniger als Synonym des mehrfach bezeugten *ihāgataḥ* 'ist hierhergekommen' verwendet.

Nr.	5,7 (HU.)	6,11 (FU.)	8 (HU.)	10,3 (HU.)	10,9 (HU.)
					
FU.:	*satradu/ sabradu*	*sab[r]ad[i]*	*sabradi*	*sabradu*	*sabare*
HU.:	*sabratu*	*sabata*	*sabratu*	*sabratu*	*sabate*

Zwei weitere Belege von *sabratu* sind - wie ich neu hinzufügen möchte - in den Inschriften Nr. 5,1 und Nr. 10,5 versteckt. In 5,1 liest der Herausgeber *Dhamaṇaputro Neiu[sa x]du*, in 10,5 deutlicher *Dhammaṇuputro Neiusa[taṃ]du* 'Neiusataṃdu, Sohn des Dhamaṇa/Dhammaṇu'. Dabei nimmt er an, daß das von ihm gelesene Neiusataṃdu ein vorindischer Personenname sei. Während nun auf dem Photo von 5,1 keine Spur des vorletzten Akṣara zu erkennen ist, ist dieses auf dem Photo von 10,5 ohne weiteres als *bra* zu bestimmen. Das schließende Akṣara ist in beiden Inschriften eindeutig 𑀢 *tu*, nicht 𑀤 *du*. Der Name des Urhebers der beiden Inschriften lautet also nicht *Neiusataṃdu*, wie der Herausgeber will, sondern einfach *Neiu*, dem das Verbum *sabratu* 'ist eingetroffen' folgt:

Nr. 5,1 (FU.s Nachzeichnung)



Nr. 10,5 (Meine Retusche)

FU.: *Dhamaṇaputro Neiu[sa x]du*
HU.: *Dhamaṇaputro Neiu ca[bra]tu*

FU.: *Dhammaṇuputro Neiusa[tam]du*
HU.: *Dhammaṇaputro Neiu sabratu*

Das Kharoṣṭī-Material enthält zwei mit dem Substantiv °*raya*- 'König' (skt. °*rāja*-) komponierte Ethnika, nämlich [*G*]*udaraya* 3,11 (Lesung des Herausgebers, auf dem Photo nicht verifizierbar) und - sehr viel klarer - *Daradaraya* 5,7. Neben diesen beiden Belegen mit °*raya*- glaubt der Herausgeber auch einen solchen des in der Wortmitte altertümlicheren aber in der Formation unsanskritischen °*rājan*- namhaft machen zu können, und zwar in Nr. 8. Die erste Zeile dieser Inschrift will der Herausgeber lesen *Yuvarajana Vasudharivarmaṇa* 'du prince héritier Vasudharivarman'. Man erwartet jedoch, wie der Herausgeber angesichts der zweiten Zeile (*sabradi*, richtig *sabratu*) selbst erkennt, keinen Genitiv, sondern einen Nominativ. Hier stimmt also etwas nicht.

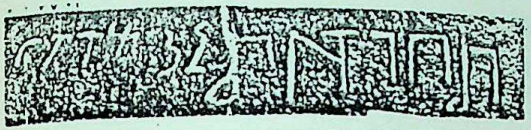
Die zwei vom Herausgeber veröffentlichten Photos von Nr. 8 ergeben nun tatsächlich etwas völlig anderes. Nach ihnen ist zu lesen *Puśavaḍhaṇaputra Dharivaḍhaṇa*. In geläufiger Weise folgt hier der Name des Urhebers *Dharivaḍhaṇa* dem mit °*putra* komponierten Namen seines Vaters *Puśavaḍhaṇa*, mit dem er - altererbtem und häufig zu beobachtendem Brauch folgend - das Element *vaḍhaṇa*- gemeinsam hat.

Die Frage ist nun, wie die völlig abweichende Lesung des Herausgebers zustande gekommen ist. Bei diesem Vorgang sind zwei Stufen zu unterscheiden. Der Herausgeber gibt zweierlei Nachzeichnungen und entsprechend zweierlei Lesungen, eine (nach ihm) unkorrigierte und eine korrigierte.

Schon die erste, unkorrigierte Nachzeichnung bzw. Lesung zeigt Spuren erheblicher Gewaltanwendung. Der Herausgeber zeichnet zwar die ersten beiden Akṣaras hier noch richtig als 𐩱𐩨 *puba* (so von ihm in Nr. 3,3 transkribiert), liest das aber ohne weiteren Kommentar als *puja°* = skt. *pūja°* (gemeint vielleicht *puya°* mit dem seltenen Wert *ya* von 𐩨). Beim vierten Akṣara, das nicht klar vom fünften getrennt ist (𐩴) vernachlässigt er den es oben abschließenden waagrechten Balken, der die Lesung 𐩴 *ḍha* sichert. Unter willkürlicher Zerteilung des diagonalen Anstrichs des folgenden 𐩵 *ṇa* gewinnt er so aus 𐩴 *ḍha* das Akṣara 𐩹 *ja* (übliche Form 𐩹, 𐩹). Von dem durch einen Sprung in der Oberfläche des Felsens etwas beschädigten sechsten Akṣara erkennt er nur ein allzu eckiges 𐩬 *ra* und übersieht dabei die zugehörige *u*-Schleife links darunter, die mit großer Sicherheit auf die Lesung 𐩬𐩲 *pu* führt. Des weiteren vernachlässigt er den am Fuß des siebenten Akṣara 𐩧 deutlich erkennbaren *r*-Haken. Das Basisakṣara selbst, dem Photo nach eher 𐩧 *da*, aus kombinatorischen Erwägungen aber doch wohl als verzerrtes 𐩬 *ta* zu verstehen (*putra*, nicht *pudra*), interpretiert er im Widerspruch zu seiner äußeren Form als *sa* (normale Form 𐩣). Auf diese Weise gewinnt er zunächst die nach ihm "unkorrigierte" Lesung *Pujavajaṇa Vasadhariva x ṇa*. Diese aber erscheint ihm selber unverständlich. So zögert er nicht, nun weitere, diesmal ganz bewußte Änderungen einzubringen und postuliert die "korrigierte" Lesung *Yuvarajana Vasudharivarmaṇa*. Mit dem Original hat diese so gut wie nichts mehr zu tun, wie ein Blick auf die folgenden Abbildungen zeigt 𐩹 𐩹, an denen man den Unterschied zwischen meiner Arbeitsweise und der des Herausgebers recht gut erkennen dürfte:

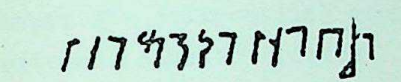
3 Abbildungen auf Beil.

Nr. 8 (Meine Retusche und Lesung):



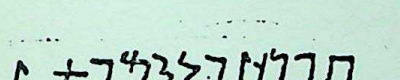
Puśavaḍhaṇaputra Dhariva(ḍhaṇ

dto. ("Unkorrigierte" Nachzeichnung und Lesung FUSSMANs):



Pujavajaṇa Vasadhariva x ṇa

dto. ("Korrigierte" Nachzeichnung und Lesung FUSSMANs):



Yuvarajana Vasudharivarmaṇa

Dem spröden Material sind nur sehr bescheidene historische Informationen abzugewinnen. Erfreulich ist zunächst, daß einige der Kharoṣṭī-Inschriften Datierungen aufweisen: Nr. 5,21 *sa 4 + 1* ("très effacé"). - Nr. 6,6 *sa 4 + 4 + 1*. - Nr. 6,7 *sa x + 1* ("très effacé"). - Nr. 7 *saṃ 4 + x*. - Nr. 8 *sa 4 + 4 + 1*. - Nr. 10,3 *saṃ 4 + 4 + 1*. - Nr. 10,4]*4 + 4 + 1*. - Nr. 10,9 *sa 4 + 4 + 1*. - Nr. 10,5 *sa 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 4 + 4 + 1*.

Soweit diese Datierungen einigermaßen klar sind, enthalten sie die Jahreszahl *4 + 4 + 1 = 9*, einmal in der Kombination *20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 4 + 4 + 1 = 89*. Der Herausgeber ist sogleich bereit, diese Jahreszahlen auf die Kaniṣka-Ära zu beziehen (die er mit allzu großer Selbstverständlichkeit mit der Śāka-Ära identifiziert) und sie mit den Jahren 87 bzw. 167 unserer Zeitrechnung gleichzusetzen. Im Gegensatz dazu kann ich mich dem Eindruck nicht ganz entziehen, daß *4 + 4 + 1 = 9* lediglich eine Abkürzung für *20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 4 + 4 + 1 = 89*

ist, daß also die fraglichen Inschriften alle in ein und demselben Jahr entstanden sind. Ist das richtig, so muß man ganz allgemein mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß bei Kharoṣṭi-Datierungen nicht nur die Hunderter, sondern auch die Zwanziger (und sogar die Zehner) eingespart werden konnten. Diese Möglichkeit ist nicht dazu angetan, Begeisterung zu wecken, doch könnte sie gelegentlich einen Weg zur Beseitigung von chronologischen Aporien eröffnen.

Executive Development Programme

For All India and Central Services Officers

To
Prof. Puri
Om Prakash
1.2.83

Reprinted from

HISTORICAL
AND
POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Edited by DEVAHUTI

1

SYSTEMS*, HISTORY AND THE QUESTION OF PERSPECTIVE

OM PRAKASH

"FOR the rest, I would only say that the more sociological history becomes, the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for two-way traffic".[1] This authoritative verdict of Carr applies not only to sociology, but also to all the borderline subjects of history which are capable of producing theoretical systems to be followed as models by historians.[2] Historians everywhere, and especially those writing on Indian history, are busy enriching history by sociological, economic, anthropological and other models[3] without caring, in the least, what headway history has actually made into these disciplines. In the present paper an attempt will be made to analyse the implications of this dictum, besides considering the validity of theoretical models in the writing of history also as a

* The word system or systems in this paper has been used in the sense of theoretical systems of ideas and concepts in the spheres of economic, sociological, cultural and anthropological understanding of man and his society. The term also includes idealistic, materialistic, historicistic, positivistic and other such conceptualisations of historical knowledge. It has nothing to do with 'general systems theory' as outlined by Ludwig Von Bertalanffy ("General systems Theory: A Critical Review" in *General Systems*, vol. 7, pp. 1-20), Anatol Rapoport (*et al*, 'Some Unresolved problems in the Theory of Non-Isolated Systems" in *General Systems*, vol. 2, 1957, pp. 9-29) and Ralph Gerard ("Units and Concepts of Biology," *Behavioural Science*, vol. 3, 1958, pp. 197-206). It has also nothing to do with mechanical and engineering systems as understood in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 8, p. 1168. The Scientific use of system or systems in mathematics, Cybernetics and other branches of science is also excluded.

perspective. It will be seen as the theme develops, that the application of system amounts to sidetracking of its normative context and thereby exposing history to the risk of being judged by some of the basic modern assumptions inherently involved in the systems applied.

History and Generalisation

Carr made this observation as a conclusion of his argument rejecting the idealist position that history is not science because it deals exclusively with the unique while science deals with the general.[4] He has rightly argued that it is not possible for history to be exclusively particular,[5] but this does not deny the possibility of its being relatively so. In fact, he himself allots to history the domain of the relationship between the inseparable twins of the particular and the general.[6] This assertion commits two things: (a) that generalisation is valid in history, and (b) that all generalisations are alike. As far as the first commitment is concerned, it is indisputable, but the second is a question-begging proposition. Generalisations in history are done simply to make things understandable whereas generalisations in science are accomplished with a view also to turn the understanding into a contrivable practical or theoretical formulation.[7] To say that the Rajputs failed to defend the country from the Turkish invasion, because they suffered from mutual dissensions, is a generalisation good enough for the purposes of history, but to say that apples fall because of the action of the force of gravitation is not a good enough generalisation for science unless it is turned into a contrivable formulation at least of the theoretical type. Generalisation in history hardly crosses the empirical level and is acceptable within the context of its own particulars, further attenuated, its admissibility is likely to evaporate. For example it is true that nothing can fall without the operation of the law of gravitation, but it is not acceptable that no defeat can take place without mutual dissensions. Historical generalisation, therefore, admits of no contrivable formulation, it is incapable of wholly transcending the particularity of its context.[8]

From Generalisation to Conceptualisation

In view of what has been said above, the discipline of history may be defined as consisting of empirical generalisations on the

basis of select facts within their particular contexts. That is to say, generalisations about certain periods of British history may not necessarily apply to epochs of Indian or Chinese history. Survey of human societies, myths and beliefs on the basis of observation and study of past records is nothing but an extension of the discipline of history. Generalisation of historical generalisations for the sake of bringing out structural, functional, social, economic, epistemological and anthropological configurations, etc., is known as the process of conceptualising history. If empirical generalisation of select facts gives birth to history, conceptualisation of historical generalisations makes systems in the field of various social sciences stand on the periphery of history.[9] These conceptualisations occupy a position midway between historical generalisations and full-fledged scientific formulations. They transcend the particularity of their context more than the historical generalisations but less than the scientific formulations.[10]

Systems thus created can be divided into two broad categories: (a) those conceptualising history as a process of life, and (b) those coceptualising history as a process of knowledge. To the first category belong the systems of economy, culture and sociology and to the second the scientific, idealistic and other systems of knowledge. Among the systems of economy may be mentioned classical economic theories, utilitarianism and Marxism. Culture systems include those of Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin while sociological systems are best illustrated by the theories of Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. In the category of the systems of knowledge may be mentioned the historiographical schools of Croche and Collingwood among the Idealist, theories of Hegel and Marx among the historicist and Popper and others among the Positivist or scientific. If one looks at the making of these systems, there is no doubt that each of them originated in the attempt to conceptualise history. Their indebtedness to history is, therefore, complete. But history has all along been a baffling problem for them all. By each of them has been allotted a certain theme to history, as for example, thought as inferred from the activities of the state representing march of the Absolute by Hegel,[11] class struggle in the wake of changing modes of production by Marx,[12] life cycle of culture units by Spengler,[13] Toynbee[14] and Sorokin[15] and structural units of multiple historical factors as keep types by Weber[16] and structural-functional units of society by

Parsons.[17] Explanation based preferably on the 'covering law model' has similarly been understood to be the task of history by the positivists.[18] As viewed by these systems, history is at best a totality and these systems represent differentiations from it. As all differentiation from totality is considered to be a mark of progress, these systems claim to occupy a more respectable and higher place than history, and a closer proximity to sciences. But the same logic makes them farther from history, if not a virtual negation of it. Conceptualisation is obviously taking historical generalisation beyond the empirical level as also beyond their particular context. The process of universalisation stamps out identities and converts history sometimes into a law of political motion and sometimes into those of economic, cultural or epistemological motions.[19] At the level of empirical generalisation, history is all this at the same time, and something more, but led to the conceptual level it is only one at a time, and that something more is missing all the time. Reducing history to any of these systems is, therefore, an over-simplification of it from the point of view of its expanse, though it is at the same time taking it beyond the limits of its contextual particularity and the lower level of empirical generalisations.[20] The net result is a queer confusion of high and low, universal and particular, principles and their blatant negation. Distortions make the whole attempt ugly and bald. This is like applying capitalism to a primitive tribe which is to ultimately stamp the latter out of existence after giving birth to a number of unfortunate distortions during transition.

From Conceptualisation Back to History

It may be pointed out that much of the fear that application of systems to history should necessarily lead to distortions and negation of history is largely theoretical and is possible only when systems are applied without attaching primacy to facts. Systems should obviously not be applied as a straight-jacket, and the relationship between systems and history in this respect should be understood as dialectical. Systems should never be given a greater importance than that of tools for analysing historical material. Their guarded application helps history to acquire a sharper focus even at the empirical level of generalisation.[21]

There is no doubt that there is considerable force in this argument but, before accepting it, it may be pointed out that the

very structure of these systems necessarily and inherently imbibes many of the modern notions,[22] as for example, the idea of evolution and progress, a certain view of causation, a certain understanding of the relationship of matter and consciousness, a certain scale of values like the belief that differentiation represents an advance over totality, and so on. Applying a system, therefore, amounts to exposing historical knowledge about ideas and institutions of the past to an implicit evaluation of the criteria of some select modern assumptions, often of doubtful value. Even a careful historian with an open mind and scrupulous regard for the primacy of facts cannot prevent undermining the importance of ideas and values in a Marxist approach to history. Once he accepts Marxism as a model, he also accepts the Marxist thesis of the primacy of economic factors to the relative exclusion of ideas and values. He is bound to understand historical narrative as an interplay of economic forces. Even if the Marxist mode of figuring out the economic evolution of man be regarded as correct, though it is by no means the last word on the matter,[23] arranging historical evolution of man in accordance with that plan would necessarily be presenting the most pious and sincere pursuits of value by man as conscious economic processes, say exploitation. All the high ideals of a culture are thus interpreted as a hypocritical veil to the material notoriety of a section of people directed against the other section, or sections. All excuses for attributing a harmonious life to the people of the past are automatically dismissed and an assumption of bitter class struggle for brutal grabbing of the surplus is allowed to masquerade as a consecrated fact of history. Harmony and balance become the synonym of power with which one class holds the other or others in subjection successively of a progressive kind. History is assumed to be moving towards the goal of freedom from exploitation.[24] In view of such a serious swing of theoretical imbalance in the basic tenets of a system and any system is hardly an exception, all talk about its use as a mere tool, about the primacy of facts, and about bringing history to a sharper focus by means of it become doubtful. Facts are never thrust upon a historian, he selects his own facts in accordance with the tentative plan of his enterprise which no doubt gets modified by the facts, to some extent, but never wholly. No Marxist historian has ever been obliged to produce an idealist history under the pressure of

facts and no idealist historian is likewise ever known to have produced a Marxit history for the same reason. Similarly, focus can never be mistaken for a positive imbalance.

From facts to empirical generalisations of history and again from historical generalisations to the conceptualisation of systems, the process of reasoning involved is induction, but from conceptualisation of systems back to the empirical generalisations of history, the process becomes a deduction. It is, in effect, like deducing particular conclusions from a general law or proposition. The discipline of history, as we have already seen, is one of empirical generalisation within a particular context which these generalisations seldom transcend. Traffic from general to particular, universal to individual is a violation of the discipline of history.

Since history approaches the phenomena of life in its synthetic plurality, if not totality, it turns out to be a study of both conscious and unconscious, personal and impersonal and deterministic and non-deterministic shaping and reshaping of agents, forces and circumstances. Here nothing is to be taken for granted, nothing to conceptualise, formulate or predict and yet each of these exercises are there to the extent to which they can be present in a finitely comprehensible process of ceaseless flux. History is, therefore, a subject in which permanent polarisations are conspicuous by their absence. This is why there can be no system-bound history.

What use are then systems to history? They are, at best, instruments for producing deeper insight into the integration and functioning of individual aspects of life, their anatomy and physiology. History, being a study of their origin, shaping, reshaping, conduct and behaviour in actual life, besides being something more, can certainly be helped by that understanding. But this does not entitle the historian to stick to himself the label of being a Marxist, sociological or anthropological historian. Historian's concern can never be subsumed by any of these systems.[25]

The Need of a Perspective

It may be argued that the plea for confining the discipline of history to empirical generalisations and inductive reasoning alone, amounts to taking it back to the concept of Ranke.[26] Collection of mere facts with sundry empirical generalisations is obviously of

no use unless it is made meaningful by putting the whole thing into a perspective.[27] Historical facts without a perspective are like a huge pile of books which do not convert itself into a useful library unless arranged in the perspective of some system of library science. Theoretical systems, therefore, provide perspective to historical facts and empirical generalisations and the process of reasoning involved is necessarily both induction and deduction, induction in the interpretation of facts and deduction in putting them into perspective.

As viewed by Anatol Rapoport, the development of knowledge proceeds through renewed processes of analysis and synthesis and the process of synthesis emerges from within the empirical and analytical approach itself. To quote him:

"There was a time when the man of knowledge was a generalist rather than a specialist, that is he embodied the knowledge of principle rather than skill.....

"The rise of science and of experimental method puts this extreme rationalist view under shadow. The legitimate sources of scientific knowledge came to be restricted to data derived from direct contact with the observable world. However, there was a price to be paid for this: the fragmentation of knowledge into specialities. Hand in hand with the fragmentation, however, new syntheses have appeared. Mathematical physics is the best-known example, and the evolutionary principle as the key theme of biology is another. "Systematization" of the social sciences has also been attempted, the works of Marx and Toynbee being among the most ambitious of such attempts."[28]

Systems, therefore, should not be viewed as something foreign to history and to its empirico-analytical approach advocated by Ranke.[29] They are, in fact, an outcome of the scientific factual history itself. They should thus be viewed as syntheses emerging from history for the sake of attributing to stray historical facts a meaningful perspective.[30]

There can hardly be any dispute regarding the truth that historical facts in order to be meaningful require a perspective. But the question is if any and every perspective that can be thought of is good enough.[31] There are a number of systems, all claiming to emerge from history as schemes of synthesis and perspective and each arrogating to itself the honour of being more scientific than the other. Should a historian choose his perspective

arbitrarily or should there be a war among historians belonging to different perspectives? Anarchy of perspective is no better than anarchy of facts and of empirical generalisations.

What is the solution then? If we shut our eyes to perspectives, history ceases to be meaningful and if we decide to give it a perspective, our choice of a particular perspective to the exclusion of all also becomes a matter either or arbitrary preference of faith. As all perspectives suffer from one or the other set of shortcomings, there can be no rational unanimity regarding any choice of them. Let us analyse the reasons of this difficulty.

What these systems do is to universalise individual aspects of life, e.g. social, economic or ideational into their structural and functional bearings. The perspective afforded by them is thus necessarily a universal perspective.[32] The behaviour and integration of natural phenomena no doubt run into the universal perspective of the laws of nature which science seeks to discover and understand, but integration of human personalities and the course of human events never take place into the universal perspective of systems.[33] Just as assimilating food by the universal rules of digestive system man never consciously undergoes that process, similarly, being governed by the universalised patterns of social, economic or ideational aspects of life man is seldom conscious of them. Had history been a record of unconscious developments of man apart from his conscious acts, these perspectives would have nicely fitted, at least, their own individual aspects of history. But history is a record of the conscious acts of man and even his unconscious developments are inseparably linked with his conscious acts. Human events, or conscious acts of man, individually or collectively always take place into a normative perspective of their own.[34] Shorn of that perspective they cease to be meaningful and any attribution of perspective by proxy is necessarily an unfortunate distortion.

The relation between the perspective of a system and that of norms may be described as that between general and particular, but this relationship is not on the lines of general and particular in the natural world. The normative context is a product of individual and collective preferences and values, habits and traditions, ideas and theories which are more pervasive and slow-changing than the events and some of the historical configurations.[35] That is why particulars can be necessarily deduced from

a generalised or universalised proposition in respect of the natural world, and vice versa, but the same can never be done in respect of the human world.[36] Historical events and configurations always find their expression in the normative context of their own making and this normative context is something which can never be generalised, because norms are never developed in accordance with a simple law.[37] There can be a systembound universal perspective of history only if there is a universal system of all the normative structures which individual human societies have developed in the past or shall be developing in their present and future.[38] This explains why there is always a sort of particularity attaching to history and this particularity cannot be transcended even by a universalised scheme of a system. Perspective of systems is bound to always miss the devotion and values of a faithful wife affectionately sacrificing all her comforts for her husband and children and is likely to interpret her case as a merciless exploitation of the wife by her husband and children. The line of demarcation between exploitation and self-sacrifice represents a dimension, for example, which can find an expression only in the normative context. Systems, moreover, introduce modern ideas and assumptions inherent in themselves into an age totally ignorant of them. They also unnecessarily belittle or magnify the importance of one thing over the other, as the scale of value involved in their making is essentially modern notwithstanding all talks of the value-neutrality of their application.[39]

If, therefore, contemporary normative context is the only perspective admissible to history, and if this normative context is always particular, history depends, both for its generalisations and perspective, essentially on its own sources. The role of systems is thus confined to mere insights into the universal integration and functioning of individual aspects of life which may or may not be used in the writing of history. As there is no law of normative perspective in which history finds an expression, the process of perspective-building in history too becomes essentially inductive. The framework of this inductively and empirically built normative perspective can be used for the purposes of deducing certain acts of behaviour and development within its limited scope of time space, people and circumstances. Induction and deduction, empirical and doctrinal approaches have thus their roles to play in the process of writing history, but their scope and interplay is

necessarily circumscribed within the basic particularity of the normative context and inductive and empirical approach of history.

Nature and Problems of Normative Perspective

We have argued above for the normative perspective of history in preference to the perspective of the system. But the conceptual study of norms is at present confined to the domain of sociology and is looked upon as a problem at the observational and behavioural levels.[40] On the observational level, norms are understood as a challenge for the field observer who, like an observer of a game, tries in vain to infer the laws of the game from the show itself. The hazards there are to confuse something for a norm which is not actually a norm and to take for the norm the subjective reconstructions of the observer. The recognition and objective definition of norms thus naturally become a problem which is further aggravated by the *ad hoc* among norms and the questions of conformity and deviance.[41] On the behavioural plane, the problem of interrelationship of norms and human behaviour brings one down to the question of human needs supposed to be universal by the functionalists and domination or exploitation-oriented by the conflict sociologists of the Marxian type. The answers proposed stumble finally on the failure of the norms to turn out complete and deterministic laws or to explanations of human behaviour in both the cases.[42]

It may be pointed out that a sociologist's understanding of norms necessarily includes, above all, his anxiety to eliminate the *ad hoc* element from the norms so that they may turn out to be predictable explanations of human behaviour. Historian's point of view about the norms has necessarily to differ from that of the sociologist. For him the *ad hoc* is as valuable as the regular. What he is primarily interested in is not the law or predictable explanation of human behaviour but a meaningful and close-to-the-perspective analysis of individual and collective actions of man in the past.[43] He has, therefore, to use norms more as a datum in relation to which all such actions naturally find their immediate context and assume their identity rather than as laws or explanations of behaviour which must of necessity be over-simplifications. The question of conformity to norms hardly bothers the historian, for a behaviour which is in conformity to certain set of norms,

and one which is not, are both well within the same normative context.

History and systems differ from each other on the fundamental point that systems try to absolutise one or the other phenomena of historical or current life over all else, whereas history makes no such attempt and, therefore, the *ad hoc* and the regular coexist in history. If theories of Hegel absolutise Idea, those of Marx absolutise freedom from exploitation. In many of the current theories of historiography, the notion of progress and directionality of history get absolutised. Once you absolutise an element, material or national, you must weave patterns of regularity, hierarchically leading to it in a logical manner. This makes the system a monolith of logically integrated ideas where the premises necessarily entail the conclusions. History will cease to be history the moment it is systematised in the manner of the systems.[44]

This brings us to natural caution that while arguing for the normative perspective of history one should not absolutise the normative perspective either. And here comes the question of the relationship of the perspective of systems with the normative perspective of history. The two perspectives can be aptly compared with the perspective of familiar surroundings with the help of which a wanderer in a town finds his way and that of the compass and the sexton which helps a ship to fix its position and course of journey in an uncharted ocean. Obviously the perspective of the system is the ultimate perspective (which should be invoked when no other perspective is available) and by virtue of being ultimate, it lacks the immediacy of a normative context. The remoter is the perspective, the greater is the loss of details and identity; the closer is the perspective, the greater is the uniqueness and wondrous character of history. Perspective of systems should, therefore, never be allowed to substitute the normative perspective and should also not be ignored to the extent of absolutising the latter. It is better if the perspective of system is allowed to operate through the normative context, if necessary.

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2. Hobsbawm, E.J., "From Social History to History of Society" *Daedalus*, 1971, pp. 1-6.
3. Momigliano noted the following changes in the historiography of the century following Ranke:
   (i) Political and religious history had declined sharply, while national history looked old-fashioned. In return there had been a remarkable turn towards socio-economic history.
   (ii) It was no longer usual, or indeed easy, to use ideas on an explanation of history.
   (iii) The prevalent explanations were now in terms of social forces, though this raised in a more acute form than in Ranke's days the question of relation between the explanation of historical events and explanation of individual action.
   (iv) It had now become difficult to speak of progress or even meaningful development of events in a certain direction.

   Momigliano, A., "One Hundred Years after Ranke" in *Studies in Historiography*, 1966, as cited by Hobsbawm, in his article in *Ideology in Social Sciences*, (ed) Blackburn, R., Glasgow, 1959, p. 267. For Similar developments or plea to initiate similar developments in Indian history see Presidential addresses to the various sections of the sessions of the Indian History Congress from 1960 onwards.
4. Collingwood, R.G., *Historical Imagination* (1935), p. 5; Joyat, C.B. and Rescher, N., "The Problem of Uniqueness in History" *History and Theory*, 1961.
5. Carr, E.H., op. cit., pp. 6f.
6. Ibid.
7. Walsh, W.H., *An Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, London, 1967, pp. 35-37.
8. This brings us back to the distinction Collingwood established between history and science notwithstanding the validity of a certain level of generalization in history. See also Walsh, *op. cit.*, yp, 37-42.
9. Talcott Parsons concludes his definition of system as follows: "System, in this sense, is therefore the concept around which all sophisticated theory in the *conceptually generalising* discipline is and must be organised. This is because any regularity of relationship can be more adequately understood if the whole complex of multiple dependencies of which it forms a part is taken into account." *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (INSS), vol., 15, p. 458.
10. A number of variables condition the concept of theoretical systems and thereby make them at best probable. All social sciences are probablistic sciences. Mac Intyre, A.C., "The Idea of Social Sciences", *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, vol., XLI, 1957.
11. Hegel, in fact, holds that all history is the history of thought, but this dictum implies to him the activities of the state in so far as state alone is

the manifestation of reason on earth. Colliugwood, R.G., *The Idea of History*, London, 1963, pp. 115-116.

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13. Collingwood, R.G., op. cit., pp. 181-183.
14. Rosenthal, M. and Yudin, P., (ed.) *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, Moscow, 1967, p. 456; Toynbee, A.J., *A Study of History*, (abridged by D.C. Somervell), Introduction, p. 143.
15. Sorokin, P., *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, London, 1957, pp. 22-27.
16. Rosenthal *et al*, op. cit., 479.
17. Savage, Stephen, P., "Tolcott Parsons and the structural-Functional Theory of Economy" in Hindess, B. (ed.), *Sociological Theories of Economy*, Macmillan Press, 1978, pp. 1-27.
18. Joyant, C.B. and Rescher, N., "On Explanation in History," *Mind*, 1959.
19. *supra*, notes 1 and 9-16.
20. Momigliano's remark that "it had now become difficult to speak of progress or even meaningful development of events in a certain direction" (*supra*, note 2) is only an expression of this confusion.
21. Ashraf, K.M., Presidential Address to the Medieval History Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, XXIII Session, Aligarh, 1960, pp. 143ff; Ansari, M.A., Presidential address to Medieval History Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, XXXIX Session, Hyderabad, 1978, pp. 322ff.
22. Rapoport describes a theoretical system as a "complex of assumptions, concepts, and propositions having both logical integration and empirical reference." There is no doubt that these assumptions, concepts and propositions will be on the lines of the present day scientific, biological and philosophical notions, e.g. mechanical, world-view evolution, progress, etc. IESS, vol. 15, p. 458.
23. See, for example, the antagonism of Marxist theory noted with a note of disapproval to that of Max Weber in Rosenthal *et al*, op. cit., p. 479.
24. For a critical Marxist review of the works of Indian Marxist historians, Dange, D.D. Kosambi, R.S. Sharma, Dev Raj Chanana, Irfan Habib, Bipin Chandra etc., see Ramarao C.J., "Marxism: Indian history and Philosophy", *Deusche Akademie Der Wissenchaften Zu Berlin Institute fur Orientforchung, Verroffentlichung Mr. 72, Neue Indienkunde Walter Ruben Zum 70 Geurtstag.*
25. An extreme example of taking conceptualisation to the extent of producing an ultimate system of systems from cell to society is that of Gerard. It subsumes history as the aspect of becoming, behavioural sciences as that of acting, and structural differentiation as that of being, Gerard, Ralph W., "Units and Concepts of Biology", *Behavioural Science*, vol. 3, 1958, pp. 197-206. The violence which this grand scheme does to conceptualise all systems and all disciplines is of the same kind which any system does to history and its details and identities.

26. Covensky Milton, Review article on *Ranke: The Meaning of History* by Leonard Krieger, Chicago, 1977, *The History Teacher*, vol. XI, no. 4, 1978, pp. 593f.
27. Hobsbawm, E.J., *Daedalus*, 1971, p. 6.
28. *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (*IESS*), vol. 15, p. 457.
29. Ranke, Leopold Von, *The Theory and Practice of History*, New York, 1973, pp. 36-44.
30. Johnson, Allen, *The Historians and Historical Evidence*, Washington, 1965, pp. 159f.
31. "What historians distrust, however," observes Johnson, "is really not hypothesis that invites investigation—fluid hypothesis, if one may use the term—but fixed theories that control investigation." Op. cit. p. 160.
32. Commenting on the philosopher's construction of history, Ranke observes, "Starting from the truth which has been found elsewhere and in a way peculiar to him as a philosopher he constructs all history for himself; how it must have taken place according to his concept of mankind. Not satisfied to test whether his idea is right or wrong, without deceiving himself, in terms of the course of events which have really occurred, he undertakes to subordinate the very events to his idea. Indeed, he recognises the truth only insofar as it subordinates itself to his idea. This is a mere construct of history." Ranke, op. cit., p. 159.
33. Johnson, op. cit. p. 159.
34. The normative perspective is a much more complex thing. Human events occurring within this perspective may be assumed to have been connected according to some laws or invariant order analogous to those in mechanics, astronomy and other branches of physics, but such an assumption can never be more than a jump in the illusion of simplicity. The scientific look of the perspective of the systems in fact avoids the complexity of the normative perspective and is a far simpler thing. Cohen, M.R., *The Meaning of Human History*, p. 116.
35. Cohen thinks that the laws of history, if any, operate on three levels of social life, the physical, biological and mental ibid. But there can be many more dimensions of their operation. That is why history usually appears to be above all the conceivable laws.
36. Gibbs notices the failure of the functionalists to account for the normative differences among societies which is contrary to their assumption of universal needs supposed to give rise to the norms. *IESS*, vol. 15, p. 212. But he does not consider the point that human responses to a particular need may not be necessarily the same everywhere and in all times. They will depend on the complexity of situation which is largely a consequence of the normative inheritance of the individual, group and the time.
37. See the chapter on "Importance and Possibility in History", Cohen, M.R., op. cit. pp. 77-93.
38. As against this, the sociologists show that there is always an element of the *ad hoc* attaching to the norms and normative explanations. *IESS*, vol. 15, p. 208.

39. Om Prakash, 'Concept of Hierarchy and Power in the Ancient Indian Theory of Society and State" read in the 46th session of the Indian History Congress, 1979, Waltair. This paper illustrate such defects of emphasis in the sociological approach of Dumont to Indian caste system.
40. Parsons, T., *The Social System*, Glencoe III, Free Press, 1951, pp. 3-45.
41. Gibbs, J.P., *IESS*, vol. 15, p. 208.
42. op. cit. p. 212.
43. "The historian does not attempt to discover laws of history not because there cannot be such laws but because such laws, even if they are supposed to exist, must be so complex that any attempt to formulate them will be necessarily an oversimplification" Cohen, op. cit., p. 116.
44. It will be nothing more than a 'construct of history' to use Ranke's words. *supra*, note 28.

To
Dr. B. N Puri
With affectionate regards
from
P. N. Masaldan

INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

40TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
AT MYSORE

Executive-Legislature Relations in India
Reflections on the Question of Re-structuring

Presidential Address
by

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27th December 1980

EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATURE RELATIONS IN INDIA

Reflections on the Question of Re-structuring

I PROPOSE ON THIS OCCASION to present for your consideration some reflections on the question of executive-legislature relations in India. It is an issue of concern to us because it has a direct bearing on the effectiveness of government and is thus of great relevance to the progress of our society. The issue has attracted attention, although only in a sporadic manner, of some of our public men. It is, I think, of wide interest to the academics also. Being thus aware of the great importance of the organisation of government under which a society lives and functions, I have chosen a more concrete subject, rather than an abstract and philosophical one, for the theme of my address.

Such debate on the subject as there has been during the recent past started when the country was, for the first time since independence, faced with political instability at the Centre which culminated in the dissolution of Parliament in August 1979 and a five-month period of administration by a care-taker Government. This was a traumatic experience and many thoughtful persons began to entertain doubts about the suitability of the parliamentary type of government. Unfortunately, very soon the expression of views on the subject began to be suspected as aimed at supporting the strengthening or enhancing of the position and powers of the incumbents of, or aspirants for, some high office of State. It is illusory for any politician to think that a democratic constitution of a particular kind can more easily be used as an instrument to ensure the perpetuation of his rule indefinitely. The great leader of France, General Charles de Gaulle, got a " tailor-made " Constitution framed in 1958 to suit, to the maximum possible extent, his ideas and aspirations. Yet, even he was forced by events in 1969 to submit his resignation before completing half of his second term as President. *It will be unwise to tie up the fortunes of a political leader with a particular Constitution. It will be still unwiser to let such beliefs influence our assessment of the different forms of democratic government.* However, an atmosphere of suspicion does tend to inhibit free and full debate.

A rather depressing aspect of the situation has been that some public men sought and secured an assurance from the Government about the future of the form of government. The Law Minister gave a statement in the Rajya Sabha on June 9, 1980, that it was not necessary at this stage to introduce any change.[1] It looks a little strange that it should be left to the Government of the day to declare the form of government that the country may expect to live under. I always thought that in a free and democratic society, it was the Constitution which determined the form of government, and now we see the Government in office saying, at least by implication, that it would decide when and how the Constitution should be changed. Even if it did not make any material difference, it would have been good form if statements concerning the future of the Constitution were made on behalf of the ruling party or, better still, were contained in a resolution of Parliament itself. At any rate, the subject has never so far been properly debated at full length. It is necessary that as independent scholars we should undertake an objective and close study of the alternative systems of democratic government in order to assess their suitability for our country. In this task, we should not be deterred or unduly influenced by the views that may be expressed by the people in office or by any political leader or group. Fear of the possibility of being misunderstood as motivated by some partisan consideration should not make us renounce our proper role as political scientists.

II

The first occasion for a close examination of the nature of the executive by our leaders could have been when the question came up before the Constituent Assembly. It is a pity that the Constituent Assembly did not discuss the issue adequately. It did not give to this important aspect of the Constitution even a fraction of the time and attention that it gave to other important aspects such as fundamental rights or the powers of the Centre. The influential group of leaders in the Constituent Assembly — I would not describe it as " the oligarchy ", as Granville Austin has done[2] — was content to take it for granted that Indians had already acquired sufficient experience of parliamentary government and that it would, therefore, be unwise to let this experience go waste, were they to decide in favour of a different system. It was also

pointed out in favour of the parliamentary executive that it ensured smooth relations between the executive and the legislative branches, whereas the alternative, presidential, type was likely to suffer from frequent deadlocks between the two branches. It was acknowledged that the presidential system offered greater stability of government but the advantage was considered less important than that of "the day to day as well as periodic" responsibility of government that would obtain under the parliamentary system. It is a bit strange that whereas great store was generally set by the Indian leaders on stability and its importance, particularly in the immediate post-partition period, was kept in mind while deciding about the other aspects of the Constitution, these very persons were prepared to sacrifice stability for the sake of what they described as the day to day as well as periodic responsibility.[3]

The leadership of the Constituent Assembly was, I think, being naive when it assumed with such firmness that they already knew well how to work a parliamentary system. Apparently, this self-assurance was based on the belief that working the local bodies for several decades and participation in government at the provincial level, first under the Act of 1919 and later, for a much briefer period, under the Act of 1935, had given them the requisite experience. I think that all that this experience gave the Indian leaders was considerable skill in conducting serious debate according to May's celebrated treatise on parliamentary practice. Before 1947, Indian leaders never had experience of exercising complete power and they could not have acquired experience of real politics which consists mostly in the art of acquiring and retaining power in a competitive framework. Not many of them could have justly claimed insight of the subtleties of the system as worked in Britain. They perhaps failed to realise that the British system worked well because of its party system and its general political and social ethos. They failed to foresee that with the disappearance of the old guard, lesser men, with a lower moral and intellectual calibre, would take over. They could not anticipate the fragmentation of parties and the emergence of an anarchic party system. It is true that we today have the advantage of hindsight, but just for that reason our perceptions and judgement do not lose such correctness and soundness that they may possess.

It will only be proper to mention in this connection that before the closure of its deliberations some voices were, however, raised in the Constituent Assembly questioning the wisdom of opting for the parliamentary type of executive, but they were practically ignored. It is notable that the very experience of the working of government which was used by the members of the Drafting Committee as an argument in support of the parliamentary system was also used by the sceptics as testimony against the parliamentary system.[4] At a later stage, when K. T. Shah proposed drastic changes in the position of the President,[5] some of the members said, as though on second thoughts, that they did think that the presidential system would have been better but that it was too late to introduce a basic change in the scheme that had been prepared in so much time.[6] One of such members also warned that the success of the experiment would depend upon "certain conditions under which it will normally work. If there are two parties and two parties only, I have not the slightest doubt that this experiment will succeed to a substantial extent. But if there are more than two parties the life of the Cabinet will become very precarious".[7]

There was, no doubt, considerable discussion in the Constituent Assembly on the exact position of the Indian President, but such discussion ,almost always, was on the basis of the acceptance of the parliamentary system. The debate usually boiled down to whether or not it was possible and desirable to assign to the President, *within the parameters of the parliamentary type of executive*, a role that would be a little greater than that of the King in Britain. There was hardly ever a full debate over the relative merits and suitability of the presidential and the parliamentary executives, once the Assembly had, in its earlier stages, decided in favour of the parliamentary type.

In this context, we may also refer to the stand taken by K. M. Munshi, a leading member of the Constituent Assembly and a member of some of its important committees. Munshi's case is a little puzzling. After about fifteen years of the working of the Constitution of which he was one of the architects, Munshi thought the President should be able to exercise much greater discretion and powers than he was generally supposed to possess under the Constitutional scheme. In the *Munshi Papers*, on the

one hand he seems to be re-endorsing the arguments given in the Constituent Assembly by the advocates of the Westminster model, and also the reasons he gave while opposing K. T. Shah's proposal for what was taken to be the presidential system;[8] on the other hand, Munshi attributes to the President discretion and powers inconsistent with a parliamentary type of government, giving reasons in support of such powers of the President that he appears perhaps never to have stated in the Constituent Assembly. He says in the *Munshi Papers* that the " President is under no legal obligation to accept aid and advice of the Ministry ".[9] He thought the powers vested in the President would enable him to prevent the danger of Cabinet dictatorship " which is all the greater because of its being supported by a regimented political party in Parliament ".[10] He also claims that in the Constituent Assembly he tried to strengthen the position of the President at several points. " I was anxious ", he says, " to provide safeguards against unrestricted parliamentary supremacy . . . our Parliament, with its new-found powers, was, in my view, likely to run amuck and undermine the stability of the country. . . . My effort, therefore, was mainly directed to safeguard Parliament against totalitarian tendencies; to strengthen the powers and functions of the President, so that in a crisis he could step in and avert a constitutional breakdown at the Centre ".[11] I have failed to find sufficient evidence in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly to substantiate Munshi's later perception of his attitude in this regard. If such really was his position in the Constituent Assembly, he was, for a man of his type, remarkably reserved and silent about it. It is astounding that one of the architects of the Constitution which established a parliamentary form of government should, in later life, turn almost lyrical about the role of the President. In his book, *The President under the Indian Constitution*, he says about the President that " for the whole country his authority runs like a golden thread throughout the constitution. The citizens look to him for protection of their Fundamental Rights; the Judiciary, for its independence; Parliament, for initiating legislation and assenting thereto. The States look to him for safeguarding their autonomy. The country as a whole depends on him for protection in an emergency ".[12] After having been firmly in favour of the cabinet type of government in the Constituent Assembly, very late in his life, he took to what may be called a " rearguard action "

in support of a strong President for protection against dangers of which he does not seem to have been much aware as a member of the Assembly.

III

The perturbation caused during the recent past by the experience of political instability at the Centre revived, after a lapse of ten or twelve years, serious doubts, among at least a section of the intelligentsia, about the suitability of the parliamentary form of government, and views on the issue have been expressed by some political leaders as also by a few persons belonging to other elite classes. It is regrettable that bias continues to characterise the thinking of many important public men and it seems that either they lack the capacity, or simply do not have the desire, to consider the issues involved with a mind free from preconceptions and dogmatism. It is clear that the politicians, by and large, are opposed to change in the form of government. While no new arguments have been added in support of the parliamentary executive, some new dangers and difficulties have been perceived in the possible event of the adoption of the presidential type.

The new arguments advanced against the presidential system are mainly three in number: that it is unsuitable for a country of the size and diversity of India; that it will mean vesting too much power in the hands of a single person; and that it will lead, almost necessarily, to authoritarianism and the establishment of dictatorship. A political leader of long standing is reported to have said that he was not in favour of a presidential form of government "in view of the diversity of India's languages and races".[13] A leading newspaper wrote editorially that a presidential system would "ride roughshod over present political differentiations" and also that "it could hardly be the safeguard against, for instance, the re-emergence of authoritarianism".[14] Another leading newspaper has commented editorially that political power under the presidential system "tends to be concentrated in the hands of a single elected leader. And while this works well in the U.S., it may not in a varied and heterogenous federation like India".[15] A former Prime Minister of the country is reported to have expressed the view that if the presidential form of government

came, it would lead to dictatorship. In the U.S., he said, it had not led to dictatorship because the people were " more alive and advanced. One Watergate was sufficient to make Mr. Nixon go, but in India nothing happens even after many scandals ".[16] A former Union Minister is reported to have said that " the attempts to change the parliamentary system was an exercise for installing a totalitarian government ".[17] A judge of the Supreme Court is reported to have said that " a presidential form of government had a great potential for subversion of democracy in a large and diverse country like India with an indigent and illiterate people ". He further said that a parliamentary system had great immunity against fascist tendencies.[18] These views deserve our serious attention as they come from leaders of long experience of public affairs and from other highly respected persons. However, they would have helped us much more in making a correct assessment of the different forms of government if they had also enlightened us more about the grounds on which they had come to these conclusions. They should have specified for our benefit the particular features or aspects of the presidential system which make it more amenable to the dangers mentioned by them and also *how the parliamentary system was less prone to the same kind of dangers.*

IV

If we have to make a study of the British parliamentary system and the American presidential system in order to assess their suitability for our conditions and needs, it is necessary to know how they are actually functioning *today*, for to know only about how they existed a hundred or forty and fifty years ago would plainly be misleading. Bagehot and Woodrow Wilson, Bryce and Laski, will not suffice. Fortunately, a large number of accounts written much more recently by men with an intimate knowledge or " inside view " of the two systems, are available. From such authentic accounts we can obtain knowledge of the two systems relevant to our present purpose.

Since the major dangers or weaknesses attributed to the presidential system are associated with the position of the President and his relations with the legislative branch, it will be proper to focus on these and to compare, in these respects, the President

with the British Prime Minister. This may enable us to assess how far the British system is immune from the dangers apprehended from the presidential system. We should then consider the particular merits of the parliamentary executive, and proceed to examine how far such balance of advantage as may be attributable to the British system can reasonably be expected to be available to us in our conditions which are, in some crucial respects, different from those obtaining in Britain.

We may begin by examining with what rigour the principle of separation of powers is observed in modern American government, as a result of which executive programmes may be blocked and government paralysed. It needs to be clarified at this point that the framers of the American constitution had themselves not aimed at a total separation of powers. They were quite aware of the inherent unity of governmental organization. Madison cited, in this connection, from the Constitution of the state of New Hampshire that "the legislative, executive and judiciary powers ought to be kept as separate from, and independent of each other *as the nature of a free government will admit; or as is consistent with that chain of connection that binds the whole fabric of the constitution in one indissoluble bond of unity and amity*".[19] The fathers of the American Constitution had aimed only at prevention of concentration of powers and not at the creation of deadlocks in government. Madison, later, quotes Jefferson to explain the aim of the principle. "An *elective despotism* is not the government we fought for; but one which should not only be founded on free principles, but in which the powers of government should be so divided and balanced among several bodies of magistracy, as that no one could transcend their legal limits, without being effectually checked and restrained by the others. *But no barrier was provided between these several powers*".[20]

Even the limited application of the principle of separation of powers that was intended by the founders of the American republic began to break down as the need for a vigorous, active government became strong. It is true that there has been in American constitutional history an ebb and flow in the relations between the President and the Congress; however, the breach in the separation of powers can be seen clearly to have started about a hundred years ago with the emergence of strong Presidents like Cleveland

and Theodore Roosevelt. Strong Presidents came to wield much greater influence in the sphere of law making. In the opinion of Corwin, " the present-day role of the President as policy-determiner in the legislative field is largely the creation of the two Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilson ".[21] Today, Presidential leadership in the field of legislation is widely recognised and accepted. The methods and weapons used by the President to secure the approval of the Congress for his proposals are also well-known. They include the use of the great prestige of the office of the President, mobilisation of public support for his proposals by making very effective use of the media of mass communication, active support from members of Congress belonging to his Party, and the allurements that his vast patronage enables him to offer. As pointed out by Polsby, " the extent of conflict between Congress and President is, in any event, easily overestimated ". He goes on to say that " with all the snags and thickets that complicate relations between Congress and the Presidency, it is worth noting that cooperation between the two branches does take place ".[22] This, unfortunately, was not the picture of the presidential system presented to the members of the Constituent Assembly in December, 1948. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, one of the architects of our Constitution, said " there are obvious difficulties in the way of working the Presidential system. Unless there is some kind of close union between the Legislature and the Executive, it is sure to result in a spoil system. Who is to sanction the budget? Who is to sanction particular policies? The Parliament may take one line of action and the Executive may take another line of action. An infant democracy cannot afford, under modern conditions, to take the risk of *perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict or threatened conflict* between the Legislature and the Executive ".[23] This does, in my opinion, look like exaggeration.

That there has been great increase in the powers of the President in the United States cannot be disputed. It is, to a great extent, the result of the vast extension in the scope of government's responsibilities and activities. The accession to the powers of the executive in particular is not a phenomenon peculiar to the United States; there has been a world-wide trend towards a stronger political executive. Frequent occurrence of domestic and international crises, development of transport and communications, technological advances which require more specialised

knowledge for policy-making, are some of the factors responsible for this general trend. However, it has been more noticeable in the case of the United States because the American Republic started with a weak executive. In the contemporary period, " the President's power as Chief Executive is multi-dimensional, and has expanded along almost every direction ".[24] His position and power has recently attracted adverse attention because of the revelations about the Vietnam war and the Watergate episode. The conduct of Johnson and Nixon greatly damaged the image of the high office of the President. In the estimate of Schlesinger, Presidential leadership has in our time " produced a conception of presidential power so spacious and peremptory as to imply a radical transformation of the traditional polity. In the last years presidential primacy, so indispensable to the political order, has turned into presidential supremacy. The constitutional Presidency — as events so apparently disparate as the Indo-China war and the Watergate affair showed — has become the imperial Presidency and threatens to be the revolutionary Presidency ".[25] In the post-Nixon period, there was a re-appraisal of the position of the President. There was a demand for strengthening the Congress and revising the position of the President. Yet, it must be noted that " even at the peak of re-appraisal, a much larger group of Americans called for the continuation of a strong Presidency ",[26] in spite of the fact that some incumbents had abused the high office. We must, in this connection, note that *abuse of power by men in high office is neither a peculiar nor an essential feature of either the presidential or the parliamentary executive; it is equally possible under both of these systems. The possibility of abuse of power establishes no case against a strong executive* which is regarded in modern times as essential for effective government. The great value of a strong executive was expressed by Hamilton thus —" a feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution; and a government ill executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government ".[27]

The question has to be considered how easily can a President of the modern United States become dictatorial, particularly as compared with the Prime Minister in the British system. It should not be forgotten that *the system of checks and balances is a very real feature of the American system.* In the President-Congress

relationship, the role of the Congress might have, to a great extent, been reversed from what it started with; Congress can, however, still hold its own with the President, should it consider it essential.[28] In spite of the accretion of vast powers in the hands of the President, the United States continues to live under a democratic system and to be regarded as one of the leading democracies of the world. It may be mentioned here that in the view of a highly respected authority on the American constitution, the accession to Presidential power is itself an indication of the fulfilment of democratic urges in that country. The attainment of the present proportions of Presidential domination in the face of American democratic institutions must be considered, according to Corwin, "as a fulfilment in a measure of those institutions," and as an answer to some demand from public opinion, on which by hypothesis they are grounded. . . . Without doubt, such is the fact. . . . Nor is it difficult to identify this demand: it is the demand that government assume an *active* role in matters of general concern, and especially in matters affecting "the material welfare of the great mass of the people".[29] Corwin goes on to ask "Does the Presidency, then, in the light of these facts, constitute a standing menace to popular government and to those perceptions of personal liberty to which popular government is, in part, traceable?" He answers, "so far as concerns popular government in the sense of majority rule, the exact contrary is the case: all the developments are the direct consequence of democracy's emergence from the constitutional chrysalis".[30] He, however, also says that these developments cannot leave private rights "in the same strong position as they once enjoyed".[31]

Let us now have a look at the position and role of the Prime Minister in the parliamentary system using, of course, the British Prime Minister as the archetype. More than forty years ago, even before the Second World War, and a decade before our Constituent Assembly was hammering out the Constitution, Laski had said, "The British Prime Minister is more than *primus inter pares*, but less than an autocrat".[32] He went on to say that "there is a real sense in which a general election is nothing so much as a plebescite between alternative Prime Ministers. The result is to give him a national standing which no colleague can rival so long as he remains the Prime Minister . . . it would be too much to say that the position of a modern Prime Minister

has approximated to that of an American President. . . . But it would, I think, on experience be true to say that *the stronger the hold of the Prime Minister upon his cabinet, the better is the system likely to work*".[33] From this view, it may be inferred that Laski would have been pleased today to see how closely the Prime Minister's position approximated to that of the American President. Indeed, ample testimony is available to support the view that, depending on the extent of his Party's majority in the Commons, the Prime Minister's power today may well surpass that of the American President.

The British Prime Minister's equation with the members of his Cabinet is today not materially different from that between the President and his "Cabinet" i.e., the political heads of the various administrative departments chosen by him. His undisputed discretion in deciding the constitution and resignation of the Cabinet, the dissolution of Parliament, constitution of the Cabinet committees and their chairmanships, all put together give the Prime Minister a position of supremacy which rivals closely that of the American President in his own "Cabinet". Even before Richard Crossman described the British system as "Prime Ministerial Government", an important member of the Macmillan Cabinet, who later on also became the Prime Minister, Alec Douglas-Home had, said "Every Cabinet Minister is in a sense the Prime Minister's agent — his assistant. There is no question about that. It is the Prime Minister's Cabinet, and he is the one person who is directly responsible to the Queen for what the Cabinet does. If the Cabinet discusses anything it is the Prime Minister who decides what the collective view of the Cabinet is".[34] A little later, Lord Butler, for years a member of the Cabinet, said "I think on the whole the Prime Minister has tended to stop being an equal among equals. There is a tendency not exactly to dictatorship . . . but to the leader who does control everything, and things are getting more and more into his hands".[35] However, another British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, says that there exist several limitations on the Prime Minister's powers and also that the actual amount of power will vary with the style of a Prime Minister. He is however aware of the fact that a number of scholars and public men hold a different view of the position of the Prime Minister. He has himself mentioned, for example, Ramsay Muir's view that the Prime Minister possesses "such a

plentitude of power as no other constitutional ruler in the world possesses, not even the President of the United States"; of F. W. G. Benemy that "the Prime Minister is sovereign — that is to say, he governs with an absolute authority"; of Humphry Berekeley "I accept that we are now operating a presidential system; to do otherwise would be unrealistic". Wilson tries to belittle these assessments by calling them "predominantly academic verdict".[36] While there may be room for controversy as to the extent of the absolute power in the hands of the British Prime Minister, overwhelming testimony will support the view that *the collegiality of the British executive is today only technically true and that, in practice, Britain has as good a one-man Government as the U.S.A. has under the presidential system.* We need not examine here in detail the factors which have led to the accession to the powers of the Prime Minister nor the mechanism of the Cabinet system which has facilitated it.

The British parliamentary system, no doubt, has, in the integration of the executive with the legislature, an advantage over the presidential system. Two things, however, should also be noted in this connection. The separation of powers in the United States is no longer as rigorous as it once might have been; and that the integration of the executive in Britain with the legislature is also responsible for greater concentration of powers in the hands of the Cabinet, which, as we have seen, means the Prime Minister. *The Prime Minister is able to control also the legislative branch to an extent and in a manner that no American President can ever do.*

The relevance of the size and diversity of a country to the suitability of a particular form of government cannot, in modern times, be very great. The parliamentary system has worked in the small, homogeneous Britain; it has also been tried to be worked in our vast country. The presidential system is worked in a vast country like the United States which also has considerable social, ethnic, and regional diversities; it has been adopted in much smaller countries as well. The argument that the diversity and size of India makes the presidential system unsuitable for it, does not have much force, particularly if we keep in mind that *when we consider the suitability of any system for our country we must do so not only for the Central Government but for the government of 22 States as well.* If the diverse sections of society must find

representation not only in the representative legislature but in the political executive also, that can, I think, be taken care of under both the systems. Different regions and sections can be given positions as political heads of administrative departments under a presidential system as well as under a parliamentary system, for we have seen that their status under the two systems has become approximately the same.

V

We may devote some attention now to the working of the parliamentary system in our country to assess how far we have been able to benefit from the merits of the system on which the fathers of the Constitution had pinned so much faith. Considerable weight was attached to the "day to day" responsibility of the Government to the legislature under a parliamentary system. It will be proper to enquire as to the extent to which the legislatures were actually able to enforce such accountability on the part of the executive. How many times, one may ask, were Ministries or individual Ministers penalised *by the legislature* to secure better performance from them? Did many Governments have to resign because of the displeasure of the legislature? Of course, there have been, during the last thirty years, numerous instances of change of Government. It will be very difficult to find more than two or three instances of the fall of a Government because the legislature censured it for inefficiency or adoption of wrong policies. In the great majority of instances, Ministries have had to go because of dissensions and intrigue within the ruling party. Coalition Ministries have also fallen because of groups in the coalition being unable to pull on together. The role of the legislature has, almost always, been marginal and nominal only. Thus the day-to-day responsibility of the parliamentary executive has not proved to be more than a notional merit.

It will be unrealistic on our part to deny that our governmental system has not worked in a manner closely resembling the British model that was in the mind of the makers of the Constitution. Our party system is greatly responsible for this failure. In 1967 the era of a predominant-party system came to an end, and since then our party system has exhibited a marked tendency to evolve in the direction of extreme multipartism; and there are, as yet,

no signs of the country adopting a two-party system or a moderate multipartism. As a consequence, the chief evil of our political system, in my view, has been instability of our Governments. I am thinking not in terms of the Central Government alone but have in my mind the State Governments as well. Very deplorably, those in power at the Centre have quite often thought it desirable to replace State Governments whose political complexion they have not liked. A novel doctrine that has been in operation since 1977 is that the results of the elections to the Union Parliament can suffice to determine the fate also of a Government in office in a State. According to this doctrine, if a large number or the majority of the candidates fielded for the election to Parliament by the Party in power in a State are not returned, it can be taken by the Union Government as proof of the loss of confidence of the people in that State Government, and, as a consequence, the Union Government may dissolve the State legislature and remove the State Government. The practice of this doctrine is an overt and direct assault on the principle of dual polity which is recognised as a cardinal attribute of a federal system.

It seems to me that we have not yet fully pondered over the enormity of the damage done to our society by instability of Governments. It is high time we did so. During periods of instability, policy-formulation is suspended, all important decisions are postponed, the administrative machinery comes to a grinding halt, and the civil servants get slack and demoralised. This kind of paralysis of government struck even the Centre in 1979 and it lasted for almost five months, a long period considering the pace at which a modern government must move. The ever-present prospect of finding a place in the new Government, should the existing one fall, keeps the bulk of our political leaders preoccupied with destructive intrigue and constant "trials of strength", to the neglect of their proper functions.

I have come to believe that far greater harm is done to the country by instability of Governments than may reasonably be expected from possible deadlocks under the separation of powers. Not seeing a bright prospect of our party system undergoing, in the foreseeable future, any radical transformation for the better, I have formed the opinion that the stability of our Governments

can be adequately safeguarded only by giving them a fixed term. The chances of conflict between the executive and the legislative branches can be minimised by making their tenure co-terminous so that the elections to the two may coincide.

VI

Some eminent persons, including a well-known constitutional lawyer, have commended the French system and they think that it may serve as a model for our country.[37] There is no doubt that under its 1958 Constitution, the French Republic has had more stable Governments than it had under the Fourth and the Third Republics, and that the Fifth Republic has achieved great progress in several fields. A study of the French system will, therefore, be worthwhile. However, I do not propose to examine here the French system in any detail. I shall briefly mention only those aspects of the system that should, in my view, receive particular attention of those who may undertake a study of the system with a view to find out how far it would be desirable to try to adapt that system to meet our own requirements.

It must be borne in mind that the French system was adopted as the French people's response to the very critical situation that arose from the Algerian crisis which had driven France to the verge of a civil war. The system functions in the framework of a complex political culture that has several strands rooted in French historical and philosophical traditions. The 1958 Constitution is based very largely on the ideas of one man, General de Gaulle. It was to serve as an instrument for removing what de Gaulle believed to be the ills of French political life. It created a Presidency largely according to de Gaulle's perception of the role that he, as President, would be playing as the arbiter of French politics and the guardian of the French State. A Constitution framed to meet a crisis situation and to suit the personality and ideas of one man, is regarded as one in a series of constitutional experiments that France has had since 1789. Even fifteen years after its adoption, "the Constituion of the Fifth Republic was still not universally regarded as the definitive constitution of France".[38] It must however be mentioned here that the 1958 Constitution has already covered more than the average life of a

French constitution[39] which, according to one calculation, is only twelve years.[40]

The Constitution of the Fifth Republic suffers from ambiguity and confusion; nor does it adequately cover the system of government. It leaves quite some margin for the President to interpret his powers as he may like. It offers no solution in case of a clash between the President and the National Assembly.[41]

We must also make note of some serious difficulties created by the " hybrid " nature of the Constitution. It seeks to combine the basic features of two different systems—the presidential and the parliamentary. It is true that so far presidentialism has been in the ascendant because of successive Presidents being men of strong personality. But this may not always be the case as the present concentration of power in the Presidency " rests on precarious constitutional and political foundations ".[42] The combination of the two forms may in future give rise to more acute problems than it has so far done. There is a " dyarchy at the top, a twin-headed or bicephalous Executive. In practice, the problem has been solved by prime ministerial acceptance of presidential supremacy, but such a happy situation may not last, and the prospect of a major constitutional crisis has haunted the minds of politicians throughout the Fifth Republic ".[43] The nature of the relationship between the President and the Prime Minister has been described as " in the very nature of things, complex and troubled ".[44] A well-known student of the French poltical-system has remarked that " the prospects for the arrangement appear markedly uncertain . . . systems of dual leadership are rare and unstable . . . the transitional character of this system is its very essence ".[45] The system also places the Prime Minister under two masters. He has to be loyal to the President and also be responsible to the National Assembly. The President has the constitutional power to appoint the Prime Minister and he has also exercised the power of dismissal. This power was asserted in the dismissal of Pompidou in 1968 and that of Chaban-Delmas in 1972.[46] The Prime Minister must submit his resignation also if the National Assembly adopts a motion of censure or if it disapproves the programme or a declaration of general policy of the Government.[47]

The treatment that it gives to the legislature is another feature of the French Constitution which requires attention. It is a

peculiar treatment which is understandable only as an unduly strong reaction to the dominant position enjoyed by the Assembly for a long time before 1958. The dominance of the Assembly was held responsible for the weak and unstable Governments that France had to live under for so long. Under the Constitution of 1958, although the National Assembly can possibly throw out the Government, the legislature has lost to the executive power even in the field of deliberation and legislation.[48] The legislature has been weakened by all kinds of devices, constitutional and extra-constitutional.[49] It has been called the "stepchild of the Fifth Republic".[50] The restrictions placed on even the legitimate functions of the legislature, will, in the long run, undermine the vigour of the democratic polity.

Allow me to conclude by saying that I have attempted here to throw some light on such aspects of the major types of political executive which, I think, were particularly important for us but which have not received due consideration. My aim is to help in making a balanced appraisal. However, I also think that there is a lot of sense in the observation that eighteenth and nineteenth century concepts concerning executive-legislature relations are not fully valid for modern government. In view of the great convergence among the presidential and parliamentary systems, the traditional differentiations seem to be losing their meaning. It appears that the choice before us is between strong and weak government, of course within the democratic framework. It is the task of "constitutional engineering" to devise arrangements that will ensure, to the maximum possible extent, that a strong executive will not be able to violate constitutional limitations and democratic norms.

I have little doubt that many of you will not agree with my perception of things, and will continue to hold views different from mine. In presenting my views, my aim is not to seek support for them. I shall be happy if they are of some use to brother political scientists in making more scholarly contributions on the subject.

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THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., MADRAS-600018

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10

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Reprinted from Harnam Singh (ed.),
Studies in World Order (Delhi, 1972)

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10 COLLECTIVE SECURITY

the use of force by any state for the settlement of international disputes. It means, in effect, the application of the rule of law in international relations. Its implications become clear if we keep in mind what happens in regard to disputes between individuals in a society governed by law.

In any civilized society, a dispute between two parties is settled by taking the dispute to a court of law or to an impartial third party. Once the rights and wrongs of a dispute have been decided by an impartial body, the collective might of the community is available to enforce or uphold the decision. The interested party or parties do not have to rely on their own physical might to enforce their rights or to protect their rightful interests. In fact, the use of private force for the enforcement of one's claims is treated as something which is in itself a serious crime against the community as it strikes at the root of civilized life. The disturbance of public peace by resort to private force, whatever the rights and wrongs of a particular dispute may be, is an offence against the community. Unless states accept this basic principle as applicable on the international level also, collective security cannot become a reality. Any disturbance of international peace by a state by resort to violence for the alleged protection of its rights should be treated as an offence against the society of nations. All nations should be equally interested in penalizing the offence. "Collective Security' implies commitments to resist aggression on the part of all States, regardless of whether their immediate national interests are affected. Unless the aggressor is faced by the united opposition of the whole community of nations, he will not be deterred from aggression nor can his aggression be stopped."[1]

It becomes clear, thus, that collective security upholds not simply the principle or collective military action against an aggressor, but also the principle that the use of force in international relations is by itself an offence against the international community, whoever may use force and whatever the purpose for which force is used, so long as that purpose is other than the one approved and sanctioned by the community as lawful.

An acceptance of the principle of collective security can be

1 F.L. Schuman, *International Politics* (New York, N.Y., 1937), edn. 2, p. 625.

based only on certain assumptions. Let us examine some of these assumptions.

The first assumption on which the principle of collective security is based is that the states which agree to adopt it as a method of self-defence will find it more advantageous and effective than an exclusive reliance on self-help. This means that the collectivity of states must be capable of prompt action in defence of its individual members. There should be a quick procedure to decide who is to be helped and who is to be opposed and punished. The collectivity of states should have adequate strength to deal even with the strongest of culprits.

Another assumption of the principle of collective security is that a large number of states, both big and small, will be equally willing to subject themselves to the rule of law. It is the conduct of the stronger Powers that can do more damage to international order. The support of these Powers is necessary to any system aimed at peace and stability in the world. It has to be so sincere as to enable the rule of law to operate as effectively in regard to their behaviour as in regard to the behaviour of the lesser Powers. A system of collective security should operate with absolute impartiality as between large and small states. We have already seen how the principle of collective security is closely linked to, and ultimately directed against, the use of private force in the settlement of disputes. Collective security, therefore, assumes that there will be available to the members of the collectivity, and to all states generally, adequate and satisfactory methods for a peaceful settlement of their disputes. Then only can we require states to consider the use of violence an offence against the international community as a whole and eschew it, and expect the collectivity to proceed to punish the guilty state or states.

From the account of the meaning and assumptions of collective security given above, one can easily perceive the need for collective security and the great advantages that would accrue from the adoption of an effective system of collective security. To enumerate the advantages briefly here, we can say that (1) collective security provides more security at less cost to the participating states. What the member countries can save in men, money and resources from a reduction in the size of their defence forces will be substantial and can be put to better use.

(2) The chances of a violent conflict breaking out will be very considerably reduced, if not altogether eliminated, when there is adequate machinery for collective security, commanding the overwhelming might of the states of the world, to punish any delinquent state. (3) Freedom from fear of war will be a great boon for the development of international co-operation in all important spheres of life such as the political, economic, scientific, and cultural spheres. Such international co-operation is vital to the quick progress of mankind as a whole.

POSSIBLE FORMS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

We can proceed to consider the possibility of the principle of collective security being applied in different forms only if we assume that the principle of international co-operation admits of adoption only to a limited extent, indeed to so limited an extent as to fall far short of its fullest and most elaborate application. True, the advantages or merits of the system of collective security can be best realized only when the principle is worked in its completest, and therefore truest, form, but it may be possible also to work out a principle or adpot a system to a limited extent, or for a limited purpose, and yet derive some advantage from it. We have in history numerous instances of states collaborating for mutual defence, and we may consider them as possible, though rudimentary and limited, applications of the principle of collective security. It is good to remember that great principles of political life do not generally find full acceptance at once. Mankind progresses by stages.

Military Alliances and Collective Security

When two or more states conclude a treaty providing for mutual help in defence against aggression by third parties, they may be said to have established some kind of a system of collective security for themselves. They provide for the pooling of their military power, an attack on any one member of the alliance being treated by the rest as an attack on them all. Such an arrangement may, to some extent, reduce their defence expenditure and deter aggression. Defensive alliances of this kind have been very common in history. In 1814 and 1815, four Powers of Europe—namely Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia—concluded

treaties for joint action in case of aggression by France.[2] In October 1879 there was an Austro-German alliance by which the two countries bound themselves to help each other if Russia should attack, or aid another Power to attack, either or both of them. In May 1882, the Triple Alliance between Austria, Germany, and Italy was signed providing for mutual assistance in case of aggression against any or all of the signatories. In 1920-21, Czecho-Slovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, by means of bilateral pacts, concluded an alliance against possible Hungarian attempts to acquire territories which had become part of these states.

Such alliances have been characterized by a limited membership and a limited aim. They have almost always been aimed at providing security against threats from some specific state or states, whether mentioned by name in the treaties of alliance or left unmentioned. It must be admitted that they can be considered examples of, or a form of, collective security only in a narrow sense of the term. They do not offer any general guarantee against war. They are not "broadly "collective"[3] They are usually *ad hoc* or temporary arrangements that do not aim at a general banishment of aggression and violence from international relations. A difficulty that may sometimes arise in such alliances is that they may at any time lose their original defensive nature and acquire an aggressive form or encourage aggression.

Such alliances can offer only very limited advantages. They may lead to some saving in the expenditure on armed forces as a result of the co-ordination of the defence efforts of the member states. However, there is always the need to cope with the military power of the rival or hostile Powers or alliances, and this means that the member states of each such alliance have to maintain, severally as well as jointly, an adequately strong defence force. The alliances are also of a temporary nature only. Every few years there are new alignments so, that each country is obliged to make suitable adjustments in its military establishment.

It may also be pointed out that these alliances taken together

2 The Treaty of Chaumont, 1814, and the Quadruple Alliance of 1815.
3 Schuman, n. 1, p. 630.

help to maintain a general balance of power that prevents the disturbance of international peace. However, less and less people today believe in the principle of balance of power as a principle that is conducive to the maintenance of peace. Balance of power does not prohibit war; it may lead to a clash between larger groups of Powers. The equilibrium that military alliances maintain can only be unstable, and as Schuman has pointed out, an unstable equilibrium offers little security. Professor Quincy Wright goes further, and says that the restoration of a balance of power after it has been threatened may require the adoption of policies not consistent with the obligations of collective security.[4]

Regional Arrangements for Collective Security

During recent times, there have been instances of provision for mutual defence assistance being made by means of a more stable, more institutionalized system of regional security. Under such a system, all (or nearly all) states in a geographical region of the world provide for joint defence against aggression against any state of the region participating in the arrangement. Regional systems of collective security have often been held as an intermediary stage between the old type of military alliances for mutual defence and a universal organization for collective security. Some even consider them more effective than a universal system and a necessary complement to it. Both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations recognize the value of such arrangements and implicitly approve of their existence. Article 21 of the Covenant of the League said, "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international arrangements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations provides: "Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations."

4 Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (Chicago, Ill., 1959), vol. 2, p. 781.

The recognition of the utility of regional arrangements is based on the assumption that it is more natural for nations to feel concerned about a threat to peace in the area close to them than in an area geographically and perhaps also culturally remote from them. While states may be less inclined to suffer hardships and make sacrifices to resist an aggression committed in a far-off part of the earth, they would more promptly make their military and other resources available to quell disorder nearer home. The feeling of a common concern for peace would be more real among the members of a security system limited to a particular geographical region.

A regional arrangement may, however, be more or less like a military alliance for mutual defence, depending upon the provision, and aims of the treaty or treaties on which it is founded. It may aim at defence against a specific common threat. It may also provide for joint opposition to any threat of aggression against any member from whatever source, internal or external to the region, it may come. It is this latter type of regional arrangement that is more valuable for international peace. Indeed it comes close to the ideal of international collective security. Regional pacts for collective security tend to cover large geographical areas. Not only are the countries participating in a regional pact bound each to each by the bond of geographical proximity, but they often share a common outlook on international affairs or a common political ideology.

There has been greater reliance on regional security arrangements since the Second World War than before. Of regional organizations for security formed in the period before 1939, mention may be made of the Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantee signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy in October 1925. The first Article of this treaty says that the parties "collectively and severally guarantee...the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France." Earlier still there was the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which provided for the demilitarization of the Rhineland. Article VII to this treaty expressly stated that it was in conformity with the League Covenant and that it should not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take action for the safeguarding of the peace of the world. However, the signatories

to this treaty did not act to uphold it when the Nazi Government of Germany violated it by remilitarizing the Rhineland in 1936. The treaty failed in its aim in the very first trial owing to the insincerity of the signatories.

The present trend towards greater reliance on regional organizations for security began in the American hemisphere during the Second World War in the face of the threat posed to it by the Fascist Powers. The pan-American movement received an impetus from the realization of the need for joint defence against Nazi infiltration. In September, 1947, twenty states of the two-American continents concluded an Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, commonly called the Rio Pact. It became effective from December 1948. Article III (1) of this treaty says: "The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations."

A notable example of a very elaborate regional security system is provided by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established under the North Atlantic Treaty concluded between several West European countries, the United States, and Canada in April 1949. Article V of the treaty provides:

> The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or Northern America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them . . . will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the North Atlantic area.

The Article also says that any action that might be taken under it would be consistent with Article 51 of the UN Charter and that the measures that might be taken by the members of the organization would terminate as soon as the Security Council of the United Nations takes necessary measures. From the point of view of organization, the NATO is one of the most elaborately developed regional security systems attempted so far. It has

its own multinational armed force and a number of bodies to ensure co-operation between the members.

Whereas the NATO was established largely for the security of West European countries, a regional military organization was set up in 1955 for the security of the Communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe under the aegis of the Soviet Union. It is called the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It was set up as a counterblast to the admission of West Germany as a member of the NATO on the basis of the Paris Agreements of October 1954. The Warsaw Treaty Organization, like the NATO, can be considered a collective security arrangement only in a limited sense. It is aimed at meeting only a particular danger, namely a possible confrontation with the Western Powers. This became clear when, in August 1968, one of the members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization was invaded by the troops of the Soviet Union and four other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization itself.

It may be pointed out at this place that military alliances and regional security arragements which have come into existence as a result of the Cold War are, in some essential respects, different from a genuine system of collective security. A true system of collective security must provide against all arbitrary and aggressive military action, whatever the state that is threatened by such military action. Judged from this angle, the regional military systems, which provide for protection against danger from some particular source and for some particular states which participate in them, fall short of the genuine, comprehensive collective security system.

A striking feature of the post-1945 regional organizations for security is that they uphold the supremacy of the United Nations system in the sphere of peace and security and claim to function only in consonance with the aims of the United Nations and in accordance with the Charter (Article 51).

It has been observed by some students of regional systems that everyone of them is organized round a Great Power, implying perhaps that everyone of them is dominated by, and intended to serve mainly the interests of, some Great Power or other. Speaking in terms of the regional systems of the pre-1939 world, K.M. Panikkar once observed: "The regional grouping visualised or attempted to be realised works around a predominant partner. It is the establishment of the paramountcy

of a Great Power in a defined geographical region. . . . In fact, so far, regional organisation has meant nothing more than a polite phraseology for *lebensraum*."[5] This is not true of most regional security organizations established in the post-1945 period inasmuch as they are based on a recognition of a common and equal interest among the members in the maintenance of peace in the regions concerned and in the suppression of aggressive moves from whatever quarter. It is true that some of the regional arrangements, such as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), are directed mainly against some specific common threats recognized by the members, but even they cannot be said to serve only the interests of some dominant Power.

Universal Organization for International Peace and Security

A more developed and satisfactory institution to provide collective security can be an international organization with universality of membership, i.e. with all the states of the world as members subscribing to the principle of collective security and pledging their support to the organization in the task of promoting collective security.

Such an organization had long been visualized by political philosophers and statesmen. It was, however, only after the First World War that the first attempt was made to set up a collective security organization in the form of the League of Nations. The League was set up in January 1920 and was formally wound up by a resolution of its own in April 1946, although it had become all but defunct by the time the Second World War broke out in 1939. The record of its activities, its achievements, and its failures make a good case study of international organization for security.

The Covenant of the League provided for the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods and prescribed the procedure to be followed in taking action against the states which might violate the Covenant by acts of aggression. Article 10 of the Covenant said: "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

5 Indian Council of World Affairs, *Regionalism and Security* (Bombay, 1948), p. 1.

In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council [of the League] shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled." Article 11 said : "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." There was provision (Article 17) also for dealing with any dispute that might arise between a member of the League and a state which was not a Member of the League.

The League did try to preserve peace by intervening in the matter of the Japanese aggression in Manchuria and, later, in the matter of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. It was not, however, able to achieve much, and the system of collective security as provided for by the League Covenant failed to protect the victims of aggression from subjugation by the aggressors. The glaring failure shook the faith of the states, particularly the small states, in the effectiveness of the League system. Later still the League was unable to prevent the materialization of the aggressive designs of Nazi Germany. Many reasons have been put forward for the failure of the League experiment. We shall briefly examine the more important of the reasons generally advanced.

The failure of the League system was in part due to certain loopholes in the League Covenant. The Covenant provided for domination by the larger Powers, which were permanent members of the League's Council. No decision could be taken on a non-procedural matter, either in the Assembly or in the Council of the League, except by a unanimous vote. The Covenant did not ban war absolutely; it even recognized the right to go to war under certain circumstances. The League did not possess any independent armed force of its own. Besides these organizational and procedural shortcomings, the League suffered from certain basic drawbacks.

The fact that the League Covenant was made an integral part of the peace treaties concluded by the victorious Allies with the defeated Powers at the end of the First World War proved detrimental to the position of the League as an international organization for the prevention of peace and security. It could

not be accepted as an impartial organization because it was a part of the peace settlement which several European Powers hated. It appeared to them always as a tool in the hands of the Powers which had benefited from the peace settlement and which were, therefore, more interested in the preservation of the post-1919 order.

The League system was an inter-state, and not a super-state, organization: it was an inter-State organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all states. It, therefore, depended for its effectiveness entirely on the willing co-operation and goodwill of its Members. The Members of the League, particularly the Great Powers, did not in practice adopt the principle of concern mentioned in Article 11 of its Covenant. They were not adequately concerned to take action for the principle of collective security or to strengthen the League if in their judgement their own national interests were not directly or immediately involved. They could have contributed more to the achievement of the ideals of the League by ensuring the effectiveness of its decisions, but they took the unfortunate attitude of unconcern.

There appears to be a lot of truth in the view that the framers of the League Covenant believed too much in the principle of national sovereignty to provide for an effective League of Nations. "Faced with the dilemma: maintenance of national sovereignty and possibility of war, or peace guaranteed by the subordination of the states to the League, they unmistakably and quite consciously chose the first alternative.[6] "This view is supported by successful attempts made by some important Members of the League soon after its establishment to whittle down, by interpretative resolutions, the force of some of the most important Articles of the Covenant which provided for action to meet aggression.[7] The efforts made later on to strengthen the League by providing for some supplementary arrangements

6 W.E. Rappard, *The Geneva Experiment* (Oxford, 1931), p. 27.

7 An interpretative resolution regarding Article 16, which provided for economic and military sanctions against states guilty of resorting to war in violation of the Covenent, was adopted by the League Assembly in 1921. Similarly, an interpretative resolution to whittle down the effectiveness of Article 10, which gave Members a mutual guarantee against external aggression, was adopted by the Assembly in 1923.

to ensure collective security came to nothing.[8]

The statesmen of the world took full note of the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations when the time came to devise a new international organization for security. Most of the deliberations for the setting up of the United Nations were held during 1943-45.

Established in 1945, the United Nations has essentially the same structure as the League, but it differs in some important respects. The work of looking after peace and security has been made the primary concern of the Security Council, which has a fixed number of permanent and non-permanent members. The Council can make a decision only by an affirmative vote of nine members, but in all important matters these nine have to include the five permanent members.[9] This is the rule under which each of the five Great Powers, which are the permanent members of the Security Council, can veto any action that might be contemplated by the Council if it so desires. In the larger body, the General Assembly, all important decisions require a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. There is thus no requirement of unanimity as was the case with the League Council and the League Assembly. The United Nations had only 51 Members when it started in October 1945, but it has now almost all the sovereign states of the world in its membership roll. This near universality of membership is a source of great moral strength to the United Nations. Still some important states of the world such as the People's Republic of China,

8 The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance proposed by the Temporary Mixed Commission in 1923 was not accepted by a majority of the states. In 1924, the League Assembly recommended to its member states the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which was aimed at filling the "gaps" in the League Covenant. A majority of the Members of the League failed to ratify the pact.

9 Originally, the Security Council had a total of eleven members, six of whom were elected. An affirmative vote of seven members was required for making a decision. In all important questions these seven had to include all the five permanent members. The Council has now fifteen members, five permanent and the rest non-permanent. Consequently there is a change in the number of affirmative votes needed for a decision. This change was brought about by an amendment of the UN Charter approved by the General Assembly in December 1963 and enforced in August 1965.

East Germany, West Germany, and Switzerland are not represented in the Organization.

The UN system has, however, suffered from certain weaknesses. Like the League system it is also based on the principle of the "sovereign equality" of all states—that is to say, on the primacy of national sovereignty rather than on the primacy of international control and authority. The right of veto given to each one of the five permanent members of the Security Council to ensure the unanimous support of the Great Powers for any action that the United Nations might decide to take and to avert a possible breakdown of the United Nations by a serious split between the Great Powers inside the United Nations has not been put to good use. It may be possible to justify the power of veto as something which only reflects the power politics that obtains in international relations today. There is no doubt that in the actual world some states are mcuh more powerful than others and that any enforcement action that the United Nations might like to take would depend largely on the suppport that it would receive from the Great Powers. It would be difficult to take enforcement action if all the Great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council are not agreed on its desirability. In actual practice, this means that no action can be taken by the Security Council against a permanent member of the Security Council or against a protege of a Great Power which is a permanent member of the Security Council. The abuse of the veto was not foreseen by the statesmen who formulated the Charter of the United Nations. This abuse is a consequence of the Cold War which broke out between Communist and anti-Communist states soon after the conclusion of the war against Germany. The aims, the considerations, and the strategy of the Cold War were carried into the functioning of the UN machinery also. Thus, the ideological and other differences between the Great Powers have undermined the effectiveness of the United Nations as an organization ensuring the security of the weak states against any possible aggression by the Great Powers. This impression of the ineffectiveness of the Great Nationals against the Great Powers has been reinforced by the manner in which the various UN bodies have actually functioned during the last twenty years and more.

It has, however, to be admitted that when we compare the

record of the United Nations with that of the League, the United Nations seems to have done definitely better than the League. The League machinery came to a stop twenty years after its creation. The United Nations, in contrast, has successfully mediated in several disputes which might have easily escalated into serious conflicts. Notable among these disputes are the Iranian-Soviet dispute about the withdrawal of Soviet troops (1946); the Dutch-Indonesian dispute regarding the independence of Indonesia (1947-49); the Dutch-Indonesian dispute over West Irian (1961-63); and the Arab-Israeli conflict (since 1967). The Organization has secured suspension of hostilities and prevented aggression in several areas of the world, from Palestine to Korea. In Korea, in 1950-53, it put military forces into the field under its own flag to combat the aggression of the North Koreans and the Chinese against the South Koreans. Never before had an army fought aggression under the conmmand of an international security organization.

It must, however, be pointed out there that the military action by the United Nations in Korea became possible only because of the absence of the Soviet Union from the meetings of the Security Council in those days as a protest against the exclusion of the representative of the Communist Government of China from the permanent seat for China in the Security Council. It is widely believed that but for this circumstance, the United Nations would not have been able to act in the Korean dispute the way it did. In recognition of this fact, an attempt was made in November 1950 to enable the United Nations to take action in regard to a dispute involving peace and security even when action by the Security Council was blocked by a permanent member of the Security Council. The General Assembly adopted a resolution, providing for emergency special sessions of itself to be convened at twenty-four hours' notice on the vote of any seven members of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity among the permanent members, failed to act in any case where there appeared to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. This resolution, along with two other resolutions adopted at the same time, is known as the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. By this resolution the General Assembly can now consider and

recommend action in matters relating to the security of Members although the Charter places this responsibility primarily on the Security Council. Actually, the General Assembly has become more important not so much because of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution as because of the ever-increasing number of independent states in the General Assembly which has made it more and more truely representative of world opinion. The Security Council on the other hand is a body of fifteen members, ten of whom are elected to represent the different parts of the world.

Several times the United Nations had rendered very great service in the cause of international peace by deputing international peace-keeping forces to trouble spots. Sometimes, it has sent only a miliatary mission, or a military observation team to preserve the cease-fire between two hostile countries and to prevent a recrudescence of warfare. In 1949, it sent a military observation group to India and Pakistan to supervise the cease-fire in the Kashmir area. It maintained an emergency force in the Gaza area for a little more than ten years following the Suez crisis of 1956. It sent an international peace force to the Congo in 1960. It sent a military observation mission to Yemen in 1963. It sent a force to Cyprus in 1964. No assessment of the UN contribution to the preservation of international peace can be fair without allotting due credit to it for these peace-keeping missions.

World Government

The organizational or institutional arrangements for collective security that we have examined so far are of an interstate nature. They do not constitute a super-state authority or a world Government to enforce the rule of law in international relations and to prevent the use of national force for aggression against other states or peoples.

The establishment of a world Government may well be accepted as the last stage in the evolution of mankind towards international amity and peace. There are some who even consider the establishment of such a Government to be the only way to provide collective security for the states of the world."[10]

10 F.L. Schuman, *The Commonwealth of Man* (New York, N.Y., 1952).

It cannot be disputed that only a regular system of world Government can ensure a fully satisfactory regime of law in international relations. A world Government would mean the same kind of monopoly of legitimate coercive power in the hands of a common world authority as a national Government possesses at present within a state. There would be an overwhelming physical force at the command of a world Government, so that it can enforce its decisions against international delinquents and deter all possible violations of peace. An inter-state system for collective security, which must depend ultimately on its member states for enforcement action, cannot be as effective and as reliable as a world Government. There is much force in the argument that gradual progress towards the ideal of a world Government and reliance on an inter-state system of collective security do not rule out the possibility of aggression and wars. So long as there is a possibility of aggression, nations will arm themselves, there will be armaments rivalries, and militarism will prevail. All these will, in turn, endanger peace. This is a kind of vicious circle. It can be broken, according to some observers, by establishing a genuine international authority or Government for the maintenance of international peace. Gradualism, according to them, will not do. But while it may be wise to think in terms of the possible, it is certainly not wise to ignore existing realities. There are great practical difficulties which must be surmounted before a world Government can be established.[11]

Considering the progress made by man towards internationalism so far, a world Government and a world state appear to be capable of realization only in the remote future. There may be a greater recognition of the need for a world state among some peoples of the world, but political evolution varies from one people to another. While some of the older states may be averse to a sacrifice of their national sovereignty for the sake of this goal because of considerations of power, there may be many among the newly independent states which would dislike the idea of compromising their national sovereignty even for the sake of a world Government. Yet we cannot think in terms of a super-state or world Government unless all, or almost all, the states of the world

11 See, for example, Saul H. Mendlovitz, "Case for the Big Step", in E.J. Hollins, ed., *Peace Is Possible* (New York, N.Y., 1966).

are willing to yield on the question of national sovereignty and to submit to the rule of a world Government in the sphere of international relations.

Besides a solution of the problem of creating the essential psychological and philosophical basis for a World Government, the realization of this goal would also demand previous agreement among nations about amany issues relating to the organization and procedures of such a Government. It may suffice here to give only an idea of the enormity of the problems which need to be solved before the stage of the actual setting up of a world Government arrives. First there has to be an agreement about the extent of powers that the world Government is to enjoy over the "sovereign" states of the world. It is not difficult to undertake that a world Government would be based on the principle of division of powers between it and the "sovereign" states just as the States which set up a federal Government agree to a division of powers between the new, common Government of the federation and the Governments of the constituent units of the federation. A world Government, in other words, can be established for a world federation. The defining of the powers of such a world Government and the ensuring of a uniform interpretation of those powers by all states would not, however, be an easy task. There would be difficult and complex questions about the composition of the different branches of the world Government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. How would the various states, big and small, be represented in the legislative body? How would the revenues of the world Government be provided? There would be knotty questions centering on the basis of the financial contributions to be made by different states and the method of collection of revenue. It is essential that leaders all over the world should give adequate thought to these specific questions. They have to be solved to the satisfaction of all states before they can be united in a world federation with a world Government.

PROBLEMS POSED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Nothing in politics is as simple as it might appear from the outside. Those interested in establishing and running an insti-

tution encounter numerous problems which demand satisfactory solutions. The nature of the problems encountered by those who have to run an organization or institution on the international level is extraordinarily complex. We shall examine here the problems relating to a collective security organisation in broad outline.

Our experience with the League of Nations and the United Nations shows that such organizations tend to be looked upon as conservative institutions which aim at the preservation of the international order as it existed at the time of their establishment. When such a view of the nature of an international organization becomes widespread, it undermines the faith of a large part of the world in its impartiality in deciding or pronouncing upon various kinds of international disputes, particularly the disputes which concern the continuance or change of an existing position. The League became the object of such a suspicion the more easily because its Covenant had been made, deliberately, a part of the peace treaties of 1919. The states which were not happy with the peace settlement came to regard the League as a tool in the hands of some Great Powers which were interested in the preservation of the peace settlement, which was favourable to them. The disgruntled Powers not only withheld their co-operation but even tried to scuttle the Organization.

It is, therefore, important not to make an international collective security organization a tool for the preservation of a particular *status quo* or a given international order. This can best be achieved by making the organization itself the chief forum for examining old treaties and agreements from time to time and recommending adjustments in old relationships so as to put them in tune with the basic changes in the position of the parties or in the international situation. This is what is called peaceful change, a subject which has been examined more fully in the next chapter. We only intend to emphasize here the great importance of providing for an adequate procedure for peaceful change if the machinery of collective security is to run successfully for any length of time. This is one of the foremost problems connected with the provisions for collective security.

There are also numerous problems relating to the organizational set-up needed for the enforcement of collective security. Some of these have already been mentioned while explaining why

the prospect of setting up a world federation with a world Government is still remote. They have to be faced by all international organizations which hope to be effective instruments of collective security, whether they are regional or universal organizations or a world Government. Thus, questions like membership, representation of members, the number, composition and relationship of the organs, rules of procedure, and financial resources are all of vital importance to the success of a collective security organization. On all these matters, divergent viewpoints held by different states, big and small, have to be reconciled to secure full and sincere participation and support of all members. And it is never easy to achieve such a reconciliation. Every state is likely to advocate a solution which will suit it best. Nations can resolve their differences on these points only if they adopt a world outlook and consider all as belonging to a world community with a common stake in the prevention of aggression by adequate arrangement for collective security and police action. Besides, the small states must have full faith in the intentions of the larger ones.

As for the problem of membership and representation etc., we may point out that universality of membership is extremely desirable if an organization for security has to serve its purpose fully. If a considerable number of states do not join it, they can pose a great problem for it. We know how any act of aggression is a matter of concern for the entire organization and its members. But when some states do not subscribe to the principles of the organization and do not participate in it as members, they can always feel free to behave like outlaws and hinder the full implementation of the aims of the organization. They can also undermine the moral force behind the decisions of the organization. The material and military strength of the organization would be considerably weakened if even a few of the Great Powers decided to keep out. We may mention here the blow given to the League of Nations by the decision of the United States to keep out. The participation of the Great Powers is essential for two very important reasons. First, it gives a feeling of security to the small states which fear the Great Powers as possible dangers to their security. Second, it ensures the availability of the military and other resources of the Great Powers to the organization for enforcement action. The task of

ensuring universal membership, particularly the membership of all the Great Powers devolves on those entrusted with the formulation of the aims, underlying principles, and rules of action of the organization. States cannot be coerced into joining; they can only be persuaded to join. The principles, aims, procedures, etc., must be such as would be aceptable to the largest possible number of states. We may here examine the factors and considerations which create differences in the viewpoints of different states on some of these matters.

Although the United Nations like the League of Nations, is based on the principle of the soverign equality of all Member states, not all Member states relish the principle of equal representation in the Assembly. States with large populations often desire that the composition of the Assembly should reflect the variations in size and population of the Members. On the other hand, there are states which do not have large populations but which are economically and militarily much stronger than most other states. They want their greater strength, as well as their importance as supporters of the decisions and programmes of the Organization, to be recognized in the matter of representation or votes in the various bodies of the Organization. They do not want to place their greater resources at the disposal of the Organization for the implementation of its decisions if in the making of those decisions they are denied a role that is commensurate with the economic and military support they extend to the Organization. It is intolerable to them that they should be called upon to bear the main burden of implementing any decision after being outnumbered and outvoted in the decision-making process by states which are far less powerful than they are and which cannot make more than a token contribution to the implementation of the decisions they have themselves made. The structure and the procedure of the Organization must reconcile such divergent points of view. The UN Charter does give each Great Power a permanent seat in the body primarily charged with the responsibility for security, but the power of veto may sometimes be misused and made to paralyse the UN machinery during certain crises. Great Power veto has not been the best possible or ideal solution of the problems.

Related to the question of the scale of representation is that of the manner in which representatives should be appointed.

Should they be chosen by the Governments of the countries which they are to represent? Or should they be selected by some body like the national legislature which may give a mandate to the delegates on behalf of the people of the country as distinct from its rulers? Each of these two possible modes has its good and bad points. Representatives nominated by their national Government can speak with greater authority on behalf of the Government and can commit it more definitely to a line of action. At the same time, they may not reflect the real trends of thought obtaining among the people of their country. We must also remember that popular selection of representatives is possible only in a state which has a democratic system of government. It cannot be expected in a totalitarian state. Delegates appointed by a democratically constituted Government are bound to reflect popular views to a considerable extent, at least on the basic issues. It may be impossible to say this of delegates appointed by a regime which has no popular basis. But as an international organization for peace and collective security cannot require its member states to adopt any particular kind of political system, the mode of appointment of delegates should perhaps be left to the Governments of the various states to decide according to their own constitutional provisions.

What kind of an institutional framework should a collective security organization have? This question in its turn leads to several other questions, such as those of the mode of working and rules of procedure of the deliberative and executive organs, their mutual relationship, the organization of the secretariat and other offices, the selection and conditions of service of the employees of the organization, etc. We need not go into a detailed examination here of the possible alternative ways of tackling these and similar questions. Let us hope that, with the experience of two security organizations available to us for our guidance, it would not be very difficult to solve them to the satisfaction of most, if not all, member states.

And then there is the question of sanction that a security organization should be able to apply against an aggressor or a delinquent state. Unlike the kind of police action that a municipal Government might take against criminals in a civil society, the kind of police action that an international security

organization might take against a delinquent state would always involve considerable cost and suffering to the parties enforcing such police action. States, therefore, have always been extremely cautious about undertaking obligations for enforcement action on behalf of any international security organization. They have sometimes been half-hearted or indifferent towards these obligations even after they have assumed them. This is what our experience of the League of Nations, and to some extent of the United Nations also, tells us.

During the Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931, the League did not even consider the application of sanctions. It contented itself by declaring, in February 1933, that the Japanese conquest of Manchuria should not be recognized. During the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935-36, the League Council decided, in November 1935, to recommend economic sanctions against Italy as the first step. These sanctions were, however, not enforced strictly by the Member states, and they had little deterrent or preventive effect on the aggressor, Italy. Countries like England and France did not like the idea of getting involved in the application of sanctions on behalf of the League.

It has been argued that the dismal failure of the League to enforce sanctions against aggressors was due not so much to any flaw in the provisions of its Covenant as to the lack of a sincere desire on the part of the bigger Powers which were members of the League to go all out in support of the League. It is, however, clear that a collective security system would be reliable only when it gives adequate guarantees of action on behalf of the collectivity to oppose aggression.

We find the record of the United Nations a little better. It took military action to oppose "aggression in Korea during 1951-53 (although this action became possible under special circumstances, namely the Soviet boycott of the Security Council at the time). It has been able to commandeer the military forces of its members for several peace-keeping missions also. Its presence in the Congo saved the country from disintegration. Its troops were sent there in August 1960 to protect the integrity of the country that had been threatened by certain external forces. All this the United Nations is in a position to claim. That it should be in a position to claim greater achievements than the League in the area of collective security is evidence of the

greater appreciation by the world as a whole of the need for preserving peace by collective effort.

While examining the value of the United Nations as an agency for the preservation of international peace, we must take note of the "preventive diplomacy" that has become one of the chief instruments of its peace-keeping activities. The concept of preventive diplomacy as well as its pursuit as a deliberate policy was developed by the second Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold. He recognized that the United Nations might not be able to play a very effective role in regard to areas and problems that were at the heart or centre of the Cold War between the two powerful blocs. He, however, felt that it could do a lot to prevent the extension of Cold War antagonisms to new areas and problems. The Cold War could be "contained" if the United Nations took prompt action in resolving disputes and prevented their being brought into the arena of the Cold War. With this aim, Hammarskjold made the Organization take quick and vigorous action to resolve several issues which would otherwise have led to large-scale global conflicts. Thus, preventive diplomacy has substantially helped the cause of peace. Preventive diplomacy is not confined merely to diplomatic activity. It also includes the employment of a peace-keeping military force, as in the Middle East in 1956 and in the Congo in 1960.[12]

From our experience of the measures for collective security that have been adopted or are proposed to be adopted, it is clear that the nations of the world desire a security system that can be relied upon to help them when they are attacked by an aggressive Power. If a collective security arrangement is to be credible, there should be provision for an automatic enforcement of sanctions against an aggressor either directly by the security organization or indirectly by the members of the organization acting under the instructions and control of the organization. The application of necessary sanctions, military or others, should not be left to the individual judgement of the member states. The provision for prompt and automatic sanctions, however, involves certain problems. The procedure to be followed for examining an international dispute that threatens peace and

12 For a more elaborate account of preventive diplomacy, see Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York, N.Y., 1961).

for coming to a decision about it should be such as would ensure ample opportunity for the parties to the dispute to present their points of view and yet be swift and not dilatory. There should also be a clear definition of aggression accepted by all, or almost all, the states of the world.

It is, however, not easy to arrive at a satisfactory definition of aggression that would be universally acceptable. Aggression is not always overt. A state may not launch an armed invasion and yet may aid, even by military means, the subversion of the legitimate order in another. There may be invasion on invitation by a Government which has lost popular support. Different Governments have different views about what activity is to be recognized as aggression by the world body. Yet if a security organization wants to take prompt action it has to be very clear in advance about the nature of activity or activities which can be restrained and penalized as aggression. The application of sanctions also raised the question of an international police force. This is examined in Chapter 12.

CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

An international organization established to provide collective security can succeed only if it has the whole-hearted and general support of the peoples and Governments of the numerous countries of the world. Since the peoples of the world have been thinking for centuries in terms of their separate sovereignties, it is not easy for them to subscribe whole-heartedly to the ideals and principles which provide the essential philosophical foundations for an effective and lasting organization for collective security. The different peoples must begin to think in terms of a world community and a world citizenship. Without adequate consciousness of their being members of an international community, they would not share a common concern for international peace which is necessary to provide the moral force of world opinion to the decisions and actions of an international security organization. If the moral force behind the decisions of a security organization is ample, the actual imposition of sanctions against an aggressor state may even prove necessary. While it is true that many factors are working towards the growth of this feeling of a world community (not the least important of

these factors being international institutions like the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies), we must make a more positive use of educational institutions to develop this consciousness in the shortest possible time. One of the most important aims of educational institutions should be to make the peoples optimistic about the possibility of the establishment of an effective collective security organization.

The creation of a correct and healthy outlook on the question of collective security should be viewed as one of the most important objectives of education. Vigorous and well-planned educational programmes need to be adopted to realise this objective. Such programmes should also drive home to the peoples the heavy cost of war, the dangerous consequences of narrow nationalisms, and the advantages and the necessity of peaceful relations and co-operation between nations. They should help in developing mutual trust in place of mutual suspicion. National histories may have to be rewritten in order to whittle down the memories of old national enmities and rivalries which poison the minds of men.

Besides the necessary psychological environment, the success of collective security requires that the society of nations should possess certain political and economic characteristics also. The concept of collective security involves the acceptance of the principle of the rule of law as administered by a world organization. The idea of settling international disputes by discussion or mediation or submission to third-party judgement rather than by recourse to violence in support of one's own judgement is in tune with the democratic spirit. Many people, therefore, expect the states which have the democratic system of Government to be better supporters of a collective security organization than the states which have authoritarian systems. The Governments of democratic countries would also be more amenable to popular pressures which would always be in favour of support for a collective organization for peace and security. Governments of a dictatorial kind may be less inclined to follow public opinion and more inclined to resort to violence in the international sphere as well. However, there is hardly anything that we can do directly to secure the installation of democratic regimes in the countries which have authoritarian systems at present. We can only hope that the political evolution of most

countries would lead them to adopt the democratic form of Government and that would ensure the emergence of a truely successful collective security organization.

The existence of sharp divisions among the nations of the world on account of their political, economic, and other ideas is also a serious handicap in the way of the successful implementation of collective security. Acute differences between nations of an ideological, economic, and racial nature do not permit them to offer their full co-operation to any collective security organization that may be devised. These differences get projected into the deliberations of the security organization itself and do not allow the organization to examine issues on merit alone. This results in dissatisfaction with the decisions of the organization and in loss of faith in its impartiality. Bitter conflicts of an ideological or racial kind between nations must be eliminated or at least toned down to ensure the satisfactory working of the collective security organization. The creation of groups among states on the basis of ideology and the consequent establishment of two Power blocks have already done great harm to the cause of peace. Ideological affinity makes it difficult for a member of a group to condemn another of the same group, however grave the offence committed. Issues before a collective security organization should be considered only on their merits if the nations of the world are to have faith in the organization and rely on it. This is possible only when loyalty to the principle of collective security—namely that all aggression is bad and should be penalized—comes first, and not loyalty to any ideological group. The development of such a loyalty to the principle of collective security is obstructed by the Cold-War division of the nations of the world into two hostile ideological camps. Such ideological groupings must, therefore, go. Similarly, the great gulfs between the afluent and extremely poor peoples and between the peoples of dependencies and the imperialists, should be reduced if the world desires an effective and successful international organization for security and world peace.

According to some thinkers, there can be no collective security unless we have a full-fledged world Government on a federal pattern.[13] But these people ignore the fact that a regular world

13 See, for example, Schuman's views in his book, *The Commonwealth of Man*, n. 10.

Government cannot be established in just one step from the present state of the international order. We must be ready to support, enthusiastically and optimistically, all steps that may ultimately lead to the goal of a world Government.

INDIA AND THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Independent India feels a great concern for peace and international order, both for idealistic and for materialistic reasons. It believes in the ideal of collective security for the prevention of aggression and the promotion of peace. Even before India was declared independent, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) said in the Indian Constituent Assembly :

> We wish for peace. We do not want to fight any nation if we can help it. The only possible real objective that we, in common with other nations, can have is the objective of co-operation in building up some kind of world structure, call it One World, call it what you like. The beginnings of this world structure have been laid in the United Nations Organisation. It is still feeble; it has many defects; nevertheless, it is the beginning of the world structure. And India has pledged herself to co-operate in its work.[14]

India's attitude towards the United Nations as a collective security organization has been influenced by such factors as the primacy of peace, its firm conviction in the need to preserve Great-Power harmony as an essential pre-requisite of international peace, and its experience of the way the United Nations has so far handled disputes, including the Kashmir dispute, which was brought before the United Nations by India itself in January 1948.

India would like the United Nations to concern itself mainly with the promotion of international co-operation as the best method of creating the right climate for peace. It also thinks that Great-Power harmony is the essential foundation for the success of the United Nations. It would, therefore, give the foremost place to this objective for the sake of the collective security organization itself.

14 Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy* (Delhi, 1961) p. 11.

India has not been happy with the way the United Nations has worked so far. It has a feeling that the Organization is too much under the influence of the Cold-War rivalries of the Great Powers, that it has on several occasions allowed itself to become a tool of Cold-War politics, and that, as a result, it does not always consider and decide issues on their merits but according to the requirements of the strategy of the Cold War between the Great Powers. For this reason, it is reluctant to support, at least for some time to come, the proposal to arm the United Nations. In the existing international climate, a militarily strong United Nations may be made to take action in the name of peace. This was why India was against the naming of China as an aggressor in the Korean War in 1951. It feared that such an action would lead to an extension of the conflict rather than to the achievement of peace. How far this attitude would prove correct or wise in the long run, we cannot say. If a security organization is to command the respect and trust of nations, it would have to take firm action against any nation held guilty of aggression, whatever the immediate consequences may be. India itself is unhappy that even when it was established that Pakistan had committed aggression in Kashmir, the United Nations did not brand Pakistan an aggressor. This was because of the disinclination of the Western Powers to examine the dispute impartially : Pakistan is their ally in some military pacts; India is not.

One of the basic assumptions of India's policy of non-alignment is that military blocs mar the prospect of peace by increasing tension. Thus, while India holds a universal or world organization for security as a good and desirable thing, it opposes regional military alliances even when they are professedly arrangements for mutual defence assistance only. Firstly, according to the Indian viewpoint, these regional alliances may not always serve a useful purpose so far as defence is concerned. Secondly, it feels that they undermine the position of the world Organization. But here again it must be pointed out that all regional pacts may not prove so harmful as India held them to be during the worst years of the Cold War. Regional arrangements can operate within the framework of the larger, world organization. Both the League Covenant and the Charter of the United Nations have recognized the possibility of such arrangements serving a

useful purpose. India's total opposition to regional pacts is, therefore, difficult to justify.

Though India has its own approach to the problem of peace and security, the Indian people are, by heritage and temperament, staunch supporters of peace. India upholds the existing organization although it is far from perfect.

FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The future of collective security is bright. Though it is possible to point out many shortcomings in the United Nations or to point out how the world has still to solve the problems of control of nuclear weapons and of sporadic wars here and there, it cannot be denied that there is a more widespread appreciation of the need for peace and an effective system of collective security than ever before in history. The vast masses of people in different parts of the world have begun to look at the United Nations as a part of the natural order of things. No international organization has ever had the moral support of the peoples of the world that the United Nations commands. This is no mean asset.

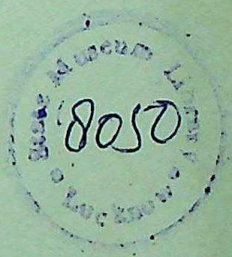
Statesmen and scholars may think of alternative ways of providing a more effective system of security, but there can be no going back. Gradual or swift, progress on the road to a world Government is inevitable. The Charter of the United Nations can be improved to make it a better instrument for the promotion of world peace and collective security. Various reforms have been suggested, such as greater representation in the Assembly for the more populous Member states, a modification of the veto system in the Security Council, and an adjustment in the relationship between the various organs of the United Nations. It is also possible to replace the present United Nations with an altogether new body. What, however, needs to be stressed is that mere structural changes in the international body will not suffice. It is the policies and outlooks of the Governments that must be improved. These can surely be improved by public opinion. World opinion must constantly be enlightened by educators, journalists, and statemen about the urgent need for an effective collective security system. If

we all play our part fully and worthily in ushering in an era of the rule of law in international relations, that era will come within the lifetime of many of us.

P.N. Masaldan

11 PEACEFUL CHANGE

Change is the law of life. Owing to a variety of factors, new social forces emerge, and the older ones decline, bringing about far-reaching changes in the political values, ideas, and



Reprinted from Harnam Singh (ed.),
Studies in World Order (Delhi, 1972)

P.N. Masaldan

11 PEACEFUL CHANGE

Change is the law of life. Owing to a variety of factors, new social forces emerge, and the older ones decline, bringing about far-reaching changes in the political values, ideas, and institutions of a people. In some societies change may occur at a pace faster than that at which it occurs in others. Every change has its supporters as well as opponents. Some persons or groups may stand to benefit from a change while others may lose. However, in politically well-organized societies with well-established institutions, most changes in the existing order or situation are achieved through institutional decisions made in accordance with the legal procedure prescribed for the purpose. Normally, there is no use of force to secure a change or to prevent it. If a person is not satisfied with the law that has effected the change or with the application of that law, he has the opportunity to get his grievance examined by an impartial tribunal. He will, of course, have to abide by the decision of the tribunal whether it is to his liking or not. If he still resists the change, the will of the community, as reflected by the law and its impartial interpretation by the tribunal, will be enforced with the power at the disposal of the Government of the community. A constant adjustment of the law to suit the changing social relationships and needs of the society within a state is made possible by the existence of a legislative body to make the law and an executive authority to enforce it.

INEVITABILITY AND NEED OF CHANGE

Change, as we all know, is not confined to the national sphere. It is sought also in the realm of international relations.

Among the sovereign states and the semi-sovereign or dependent communities which may constitute the world at any given time, there usually will be some which are dissatisfied with the existing order (or with the *status quo*) and which desire change in their position or status and in their relations with other states. Territories with distinct nationalities included in a multinational state may want to break away and proclaim themselves as separate independent states. Dependent territories may desire and try for independence of the imperial Power. A powerful state may want to acquire the territory of a weaker state. A state may seek the nullification of outmoded extraterritorial rights conceded by it to some other Power during some earlier period upon compulsion under what are known as unequal treaties. When the states and peoples concerned cannot secure a reconciliation of their divergent positions in regard to a given situation, they generally refer them to the arbitrament of war. A great majority of the wars recorded in history are the result of failure on the part of the warring states to agree on a peaceful adjustment of a given situation in their relations. A large number of such wars have been occasioned by demands for, and opposition to, territorial changes, i.e. changes in sovereign rights over some territory.

It would, however, be wrong to imagine that all changes in the international order have been effected by war alone and that there is no instance of change having been brought about without resort to the use of military power. Indeed one could cite several instances of change having been made without a confrontation of the armed forces of the parties concerned—change in sovereignty over territory, change in boundaries, and change in the international status of a country.[1] But in many such instances, a threat of use of force did exist in the background. In 1846, the free city of Crackow was annexed by the Austrian Empire; in 1908, Bosnia-Herzgovina was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although there was no outbreak of war in these instances, considerations of military power and the distinct possibility of its employment did play a part. There are some better instances of peaceful change. Great Britain

1 For a large number of such instances of peaceful change, see C.R.M.F. Cruttwell, *A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World* (London, 1937).

transferred the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1864 as a gesture of goodwill. Boundary adjustments between the United States and Canada during the nineteenth century were largely achieved through diplomacy. The British mandate over Iraq was terminated in 1932 in a peaceful manner. After fifteen years of international administration, the Saar was restored to Germany on the basis of a plebiscite. Recently, territorial adjustment between India and Pakistan in the Kutch region was effected in a peaceful manner.

Instances cited above do not give us much cause for real satisfaction because they are of an *ad hoc* nature and not based on a general acceptance by the international community of a regular system of peaceful change. Besides, many of these changes, though effected without war, were not, as already pointed out, genuinely peaceful. E.H. Carr states that "normally, the threat of war, tacit or overt, seems a necessary condition of important political changes in the international sphere".[2] He adds that "changes will, generally speaking, be effected only in the interests of those by whom, or on whose behalf, power can be invoked."[3] Writing in the same vein, Torsten Gihl points out that a claim by a small and weak power against a Great Power, however reasonable, does not matter as it involves no risk of war.[4] There is obviously an element of exaggeration in the view expressed by Carr, and he himself admits that he has emphasized this aspect deliberately as it has been "ignored in most modern writing about international politics."[5]

MEANING OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

Let us now examine what the expression "peaceful change" properly stands for in international politics. In a broad, general sense, it may stand for all changes effected without recourse to war. It may be said to include also the well-known pacific methods for the settlement of international disputes such as

2 E.H. Carr., *The Twenty Year's Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London, 1961), p. 216.

3 Ibid., pp. 218-19.

4 Torsten Gihl, *International Legislation: An Eassy on Changes in International Law and in International Legal Situations*, S.J., Charleston, trans. (London, 1937).

5 Carr, n. 2, pp. 218-19.

mediation, arbitration, and adjudication. But it has also a special meaning and it is in this particular meaning that it is used by the students of international politics. In this particular sense, it does not stand for the settlement of disputes by a judicial or semi-judicial procedure. Such procedures are applicable to controversies "that take the form of disputes over the meaning and application of the established rules of law."[6] They are of little use for settling disputes of a political nature such as those which involve "demands for dynamic changes in the law and in the prevailing apportionment of values on which the law rests".[7] Claude explains the difference between "pacific settlement of disputes" and "peaceful change" by describing the latter as "a somewhat specialized concept" which has reference to the problem of applying peaceful methods to resolve "disputes which arise from demands for alteration of the legally established *status quo*". He brings out the difference clearly by saying that while "pacific settlement is concerned with disputes *within* the legal order....peaceful change [is concerned with] disputes *about* the legal order".[8] The problem of peaceful change relates to issues of a political rather than a legal nature, to issues which arise because of political changes or reasons and which can be resolved by a change in the legal situation itself. For example, the Chinese Government demanded, during the late twenties and thirties of this century, the end of extraterritorial rights; and Egypt demanded, in the twenties of this century, the termination of the British protectorate over it. The end of the system of extra-territoriality in China and the end of the British protectorate over Egypt in 1936 as a result of diplomatic negotiations may be cited as instances of peaceful change. It is thus clear that, in the particular sense in which we are concerned with it here, peaceful change relates to issues which can be resolved by change either (*a*) in a given legal situation or (*b*) in the rules of international law which provide the legal basis for the given situation. It is these two aspects of peaceful change that we shall concern ourselves with in this article. Both these are

6 F.L. Schuman, *International Politics* (New York, N.Y., 1937), pp. 636-7.

7 Ibid.

8 Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization* (New York, N.Y., 1964).

connected. Both involve going beyond the existing legal position, either by bypassing the existing rules of law or by formulating new rules in place of the existing ones.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

Let us now consider the position of peaceful change in international law today.

It is generally assumed, particularly in newly independent states, that law seeks to preserve the *status quo* and that those who want change cannot obtain it by legal processes. This assumption is not, however, quite correct, whether we are considering municipal law, which operates within individual states, or international law, which is meant to regulate relations between states.

So far as change in a legal situation is concerned, there are two well-known doctrines of international law which have a direct bearing on the subject. One of the fundamental principles of international law is that of the sanctity of treaties and of the binding nature of the obligations assumed under them; the doctrine of *pacta sunt servanda.* Now, most of the legal situations are based on treaties or conventions concluded between two or more states. Some of the treaties may be very old and political, or certain developments may render them out of tune with the times. Yet, under *pacta sunt servanda*, they must be observed faithfully. It is being increasingly realised that in a fast-changing world, it would not do to insist upon a rigid adherence to this rule of international law as such adherence "could impede progress and lead to situations inconsistent with equity". Increasing emphasis is, therefore, being placed on another doctrine of international law, the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*, according to which the obligations assumed under a treaty are to be carried out so long as the circumstances in which the treaty has been concluded continue to be the same.

The International Law Commission set up by the United Nations has thoroughly examined the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* and given its findings in its reports on the Law of Treaties. There is considerable evidence of the principle being part of customary international law, but the International Court has not yet taken a definite position on this principle. There is little doubt today that most modern jurists would admit

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that the doctrine exists in international law. They are, however, anxious to prevent its abuse by a state to release itself unilaterally from its international obligations. It is widely appreciated that the conditions under which the doctrine may be invoked must be strictly regulated. The international Law Commission has recommended that the doctrine may be formulated as "an objective rule of law by which, on grounds of equity and justice, a fundamental change of circumstances may, under certain conditions, be invoked by a party as a ground for terminating the treaty". It has further said that in order to emphasize the objective character of the rule, it would be better not to use the term *rebus sic stantibus* . . . and so avoid the doctrinal implications of the term".[9]

While the great majority of states appear to endorse the principle, there is also considerable anxiety about the possibility of its abuse. The International Law Commission has, therefore, laid down the precise nature of the fundamental change that may justify a state's releasing itself from its obligations under any existing treaty. It has stated :

> A fundamental change of circumstances which has occurred with regard to those existing at the time of the conclusions of the treaty and which was not foreseen by the parties, may not be invoked as a ground for terminating or withdrawing from the treaty unless
>
> (*a*) the existence of those circumstances constituted an essential basis of the consent of the parties to be bound by the treaty; and
>
> (*b*) the effect of the change is radically to transform the scope of obligations still to be performed under the treaty.
>
> A fundamental change of circumstances may not be invoked :
>
> (*a*) as a ground for terminating or withdrawing from a treaty establishing a boundary; or
>
> (*b*) if the fundamental change is the result of a breach by the party invoking it either of the treaty or of a different international obligation owed to the other parties to the treaty.[10]

9 International Law Commission, *Year Book, 1966* (New York, N.Y., 1967), vol. 2, pp. 258 and 121.

10 Ibid.

There is, it would appear, a wide measure of agreement also on the point that it should not be considered proper on the part of a party to a treaty unilaterally to declare itself free from the obligations assumed by it under the treaty only because it thinks that the circumstances have changed and the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* is applicable to the treaty. There should be no "automatic or immediate right of unilateral denunciation."[11] The International Law Commission has opined that the procedural safeguards provided against any arbitrary denunciation of treaties in general should be applicable also to treaties sought to be revised or denounced on the ground of changed circumstances. If a state wants to denounce a treaty, it should notify its intention to all parties. It should explain the reasons and grounds for its decision to denounce the treaty. If some parties object, the matter should be referred to an arbitration tribunal. It could also be settled peacefully by the other means mentioned in Article 33 of the UN Charter for the pacific settlement of disputes.[12]

It would thus be seen that international law does provide for the termination of a treaty which might be claimed by a party to have become outmoded owing to a change in the circumstances. Legal situations can be changed by the procedure available under existing international law.

The real question, however, is whether such arrangements as exist at present for peaceful change in legal situations are adequate. It is pointed out by Gihl that there is no rule of international law compelling the parties to a dispute to seek arbitration by an impartial tribunal which may decide the dispute *ex aequo et bono*, i.e. according to the sense of justice of the members of the tribunal and with an element of expediency. He also points out that even if there were a provision making it obligatory for the parties to refer their dispute to third-party arbitration, a state might, in the absence of an international executive authority, refuse to abide by an adverse verdict.[13] If international judgements have so far been observed by the

11 Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, as quoted by R.P. Anand in *The Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Indian Society of International Law* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 60.

12 *Year Book*, 1966, n. 9. vol. 2, p. 260.

13 Gihl, n. 4, pp. 120-8 and 137-51.

parties concerned, it is because the parties have voluntarily come forward and referred their disputes to third-party arbitration from a desire to have them settled on legal grounds. It does not necessarily follow that they would behave in the same manner even when they are obliged to submit disputes of a political, rather than a purely legal, character for arbitration. The inadequacy of the existing arrangements is thus clearly brought out.

So far as peaceful change through the creation of new rules of international law is concerned, international law at present recognizes certain modes for the formulation of its rules which are commonly referred to as the sources of international law. Custom and conventions or treaties are the two main sources. Custom was, until the twentieth century, the most important source. "Custom must be understood to include the long-standing recognition of certain general principles as well as the established usages to which the word *custom* would seem more appropriately to apply."[14] Sometimes, general principles of morality, equity, and justice are treated as a separate source of international law, the word *custom* being confined to established practices accepted by states as binding. Treaties have also become an important source, but "treaties are sources of international law only when adopted by nations as a body".[15]

It must be noted that the above-mentioned ways in which rules of international law develop—emergence of general principles of morality and justice, crystallization of practices into custom, adoption of treaties by nations as a body—are processes which require a long period of time. If the fast-changing world requires quicker formulation of new rules of international law, there has to be an additional process, namely legislation by a competant international authority.

PROGRESS TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

We have seen the inadequacy of the existing provisions for change in legal situations and for the creation of new rules of international law. Only a supranational authority with law-

14 C.G. Fenwick, *International Law* (New York, N.Y., 1948), edn. 3, pp. 69-70.

15 Ibid., p. 76.

making and law-enforcing powers can achieve our purposes. We have already got the experience of a large number of international organizations, some of which have been specifically concerned with the maintenance of peace and security as well as with peaceful change. Do they approach the kind of supranational authority we are in need of? Can the organization and working of any of them be a guide to us in our efforts to secure the establishment of a supranational authority? It would, therefore, be a good idea to consider some of the better known international organizations. However, before we do so, let us define the characteristics of the supranational authority that would meet adequately the demands for peaceful change. Such an authority should possess an independent legislative capacity of its own—that is to say, the laws made by it should be binding on the peoples of the participating states even if they are not ratified by the national Governments of those states. It should also possess an effective power and organization to ensure that its laws are properly observed and that violations are punished by a supranational judicial body. Of course, it should also have guaranteed financial support to enable it to function independently in pursuit of its objectives.

There has been a significant growth in international organization since 1919. A number of organizations are of a functional character, i.e. bodies entrusted with securing inter-Governmental co-operation in particular fields. Some of them have been concerned primarily with broad political goals. While some have had a universal, or near universal, membership, others have been of a regional character.

One of the earliest of international organizations is the International Labour Organization, established after the First World War in 1919 as an autonomous associate of the League of Nations. Its function may be regarded as one of a legislative nature, it being concerned with the formulation of "conventions" and "recommendations" relating to the conditions and standards of labour. These conventions and recommendations are formulated by a General Conference attended by delegates from all member countries, the delegation from each member country consisting of the representatives of the Government of the country, industry, and labour. Because of the composition of the General Conference, the standards laid down by it in its

conventions and recommendations almost have a binding effect and are observed in the various member countries. It would not, however, be correct to say that the General Conference of the International Labour Organization has a legislative capacity and functions as a supranational law-making body. The conventions and recommendations that it drafts and proposes are sent to the Governments of the member Countries if they have been adopted by a two-thirds vote. The member countries are not bound to observe the standards proposed in the conventions and recommendations unless they are ratified by the Governments. Thus, the decisions of the General Conference, as embodied in its conventions and recommendations, are not automatically binding on the member countries. It would, therefore, be wrong to ascribe a legislative capacity to the International Labour Organization.

The League of Nations was established in 1920, about the same time as the International Labour Organization. "The League of Nations, as outlined in the Covenant, was not so obviously dedicated to legislative work; its founders looked upon it rather as an immediate instrument of peace."[16] However, the League had power to initiate a process for the preparation of draft conventions on matters of common interest by a special body of experts, followed by a conference. Such draft conventions were to become operative only on ratification by the Governments of the member states.

The main function of the League, however, was to secure adjustments in international situations which might threaten peace, as well as to advise its Members from time to time to reconsider treaties which had become inapplicable. But the record of the League in this sphere is blank: the Article in its Covenant providing for peaceful revision of old treaties remained, in practice, a dead letter.[17]

Since 1945 we have had the United Nations, with a membership far wider than that of the League of Nations, to look after the peace and security of the world. Its General Assembly truly reflects world opinion. It can make recommendations to its Members regarding any matter connected with peace

16 E. C. Mower, *International Government* (London, 1931), p. 412.
17 Article 19.

and security and the promotion of international co-operation in political, economic, and other fields. It can make recommendations aimed at "encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification", as also "the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations."[18] The power to make recommendations about so many important matters does not however, necessarily indicate a law-making capacity. If the recommendations of the General Assembly were to be binding on the nations, it could be said to possess a legislative capacity. There was no intention on the part of the founders of the United Nations to give the function of international legislation to the UN General Assembly. This is brought out by the records of the San Francisco Conference.[19] In the opinion of F. Blaine Sloan, the resolutions of the General Assembly do not, as a general rule, create binding obligations in positive law. They possess only moral force and no legal force.[20] It is possible that in regard to some particular matter, the Members may, by a special agreement, decide to accept the recommendation of the General Assembly. Such acceptance obviously would not vest the General Assembly itself with any legislative capacity.[21]

As stated earlier, the General Assembly has power to make recommendations for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which may, in its opinion, impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations. The Security Council can also investigate any situation and decide whether the continuance of that situation is likely to endanger peace and security. If it finds the situation to be such, it may recommend "appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment."[22]

There are several notable instances of the United Nations trying to bring about peaceful change. In 1984-49 it successfully

18 See Articles 10-14 of the UN Charter.

19 F. Blaine Sloan, "The Binding Force of a 'Recommendation' of the General Assembly of the United Nations," *British Year Book of International Law* (London), vol. 25 (1948), p. 6.

20 Ibid., p. 31.

21 Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security* (Washington, D.C. 1965), p. 248.

22 See Articles 34-36 of the UN Charter.

dealt with the problem of the future of the former colonies of Italy, namely Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland. But this was the result of a previous agreement among the Great Powers to refer the matter to the General Assembly and to abide by its recommendations.[23]

The UN General Assembly considered the problem of the future of Palestine, which had been a League Mandate under Britain, in November 1947. It adopted a plan to divide Palestine, but could not implement it.

In the colonial field, the United Nations has done much to secure the independence of colonial territories from imperial Powers. Its achievements, however, cannot be attributed solely to its influence. They are due as much to the willingness of the Powers concerned to grant independence and withdraw from their colonies. The United Nations has been able to achieve little in situations where the Powers concerned have not been prepared to allow change. South-West Africa and the fate of the Portuguese colonies are glaring examples of the inability of the United Nations to bring about peaceful change. The failures are due to the fact that the recommendations of the Assembly or the Security Council cannot prove effective in the absence of any superanational authority being vested in the United Nations.

We have seen that none of the universal international organizations that we have examined possess supranational authority. This, however, does not mean that mankind has not made any progress at all in this direction. The functioning of some inter-Governmental regional organizations established after the Second World War gives room for reasonable optimism.

Regional organizations have sprung up in several parts of the world—in the Americas, in Africa, and in Europe. Many of them have been established for the purpose of promoting co-operation in different fields, including peace and security. However, only a very few can claim any supranational authority. Generally they lack authority to make binding decisions even in respect of collective security. There is hardly anything, for example, in the Charter of the Organization of American States (adopted in April 1948) to suggest that any of its organs can make a decision that would be automatically binding on the member

23 Goodrich and Simons, n. 21, pp. 239-40.

states. Under the Charter, measures and procedures to be followed by the member states for a peaceful settlement of controversies or disputes among them or for collective defence should be determined either by agreement among the parties concerned or by special treaties on the subject.[24]

It is in Western Europe that regionalism has developed best, for it has unmistakably taken the direction of regional integration there, and it is to Western Europe that we must, therefore, turn our attention for valuable ideas regarding progress towards the creation of a supranational authority to promote peaceful change.

Soon after the Second World War the countries of Western Europe were faced with a number of problems and dangers. It became clear to them that without economic, political, and military co-operation and co-ordination it would be impossible for them to tackle the immense task of reconstruction. The United States also, which gave them substantial aid, encouraged and even required them to collaborate with one another in the economic and military spheres. It was in this situation that a movement towards the economic and political integration of six of the West European countries got started.

In July 1952, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and West Germany established a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) on the basis of a treaty concluded between the six in April 1951. The headquarters of the ECSC is in Luxemburg. The ECSC was established with a view to creating a common market in these two basic industries for the common benefit of all the six countries. When these countries found the arrangement to be of substantial benefit, they agreed, by a separate treaty—the Treaty of Rome, 1957—to extend the principle of a common market to their entire economy and, as a result, the European Common Market (ECM), also called the European Economic Community (EEC), was established in January 1958, with its headquarters in Brussels. Simultaneously, the six countries of the EEC also established an European Atomic Energy Community to ensure a better utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. At first, the three communities had their own several institutional structures, each a distinct,

24 See Charter of the Organization of American States, chs. 4 and 5.

though parallel to the other two. Later on, in 1958, they started coalescing. A very substantial merger of the institutions was effected in January 1966.

The point of interest for us here is that the six countries of Western Europe, called the European Community, have set up some organs with supranational authority, though for certain clearly defined purposes and in a limited geographical region. How they have done it can show the way for further growth of supranational institutions, culminating, at some date in the future, in a world Government.

These six countries of Western Europe have established a representative Assembly, which is also known as the European Parliament. Ultimately, all members have to be elected directly by the peoples of the member states though a majority today are nominated by the Parliaments of the different countries. The members from different states reflect the strength of the various parties in their respective State Parliaments. They do not group themselves in the European Parliament on a national basis. The larger states have more seats than the smaller ones. The executive organ of the EEC is responsible to this Parliament and can be removed from office by a vote of censure adopted by the Parliament. The main administrative organ is the High Authority or the High Commission. It has nine members who are not national representatives but who are chosen by common consent of the member Governments. They are to function with absolute independence and must neither seek nor accept instructions from any Government or other organization. There is also a Council of Ministers, but the voting procedure followed here makes it impossible for the bigger member states, even with the help of the smallest member states, to prevent a decision from being made. In this body, the votes of the larger states are weighted to enable them to have a voice in proportion to their size. The EEC has its own Court of Justice. Judges are selected by common consent of the Governments of the member states. They are selected from among men of competence and independence.

Of the various institutions of the EEC, it is only the High Authority and the Court that posses supranational authority. Their decisions directly affect the interests of the peoples of the six countries. The High Authority has powers to levy taxes

on the peoples of the six countries, and to impose penalties on those who violate the rules of the EEC in matters under its purview. The supranational powers vested in these organs of the EEC involve a surrender of national sovereignty in a large sector of the life of the six countries. It has rightly been called a revolution in legal theory.

From a study of the development and working of the EEC, we learn that it is possible to proceed sector by sector towards economic and political integration, at least in a defined geographical region. Nations can agree to the setting up of a supranational authority at the cost of their national sovereignty. This is the great lesson and hope that the EEC has for mankind.

PROSPECT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE THROUGH SUPRANATIONAL AUTHORITY

We may now come to two main conclusions : (1) A satisfactory and adequate arrangement for peaceful change—whether by adjustments in legal situations or by the creation of new rules of international law—necessarily implies the establishment of supranational authority with a legislative capacity and powers to enforce its decisions against such states as may not be willing to accept a change or a new rule acceptable to the states in general as reasonable and just. (2) States can create such supranational authority, at the cost of national sovereignty, once they are convinced of the advantages that would flow from it.

We must recognize here that despite the marvellous achievements of man in the realm of science and technology, we are politically still in the era of nationalism, and we still cling to the concept of national sovereignty as the sheet-anchor of our political existence. We are yet to shed our traditional political doctrines and values. An adequately strong sense of community among the nations of the world is yet to develop. Such a sense of community alone can form the basis of a world Government.

The creation of a sense of community may perhaps be easier among nations which are close to each other in one region of the world than among nations which are far apart geographically. It may be easier for them to develop close ties and derive profit from it in the economic, cultural and political fields. They may be more willing to lose their identity and merge with one another

for certain functions and services. We have, therefore, to consider what would be a better way to develop superanational institutions for the world community. We can try to establish an authority for the world as a whole, an authority above that of national Governments; or we may try to march towards a world Government in two stages—an initial stage of regional organizations, followed by the creation of a world federation over the regional organizations. This would mean two tiers of supranational authorities. It would no doubt make the supranational structure more complicated, but if it is the more realistic way to proceed with the business of setting up supranational authority, it will have to be preferred.

Before setting up a supranational authority, regional or worldwide, the nations of the world will have to reach a common understanding on a number of questions relating to such an authority. They must first agree about the subjects or matters on which the authority is to have direct and independent jurisdiction, legislative and executive; the manner in which it is to secure funds for its upkeep and work; the institutional frame work of the authority; an equitable allotment of representation and share in decision-making among member states; the manner of selection for, and appointment to, the administrative positions in the organization of the authority; and the powers and operations of the law enforcement machinery. With all the diversity that exists in the outlook and interests of the nations of the world, an agreement on these various aspects of a regional or world authority is by no means easy to reach. In grappling with these problems the experience of the EEC is sure to be of immense value.

We, students of political science, have a distinct role to play in the preparation of the psychological base for the setting up of a supranational authority. It is our responsibility to educate the younger generations, as well as the general public, about the urgency of the need to progress towards the goal of a world Government, so that change may be brought about by peaceful methods and not by war. We must help them cast off despondency and replace it by faith in man's reason and hope in his intention.